DOMESTIC LIFE OF A DUKE

COSMO GEORGE,
THIRD DUKE OF GORDON

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VOLUME I

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
1977

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FOREWORD

This thesis is based on the Gordon Castle collection of MSS, deposited by His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon in the Scottish Record Office in 1947. This collection is roughly arranged according to an inventory of 1912, which incorporates an earlier inventory of writs, by subject: writs, family papers, letters, maps and plans, accounts and estate papers. This study uses material found mainly among the accounts and estate papers. Apart from this collection, there are very few groups of papers relating to the ducal family of Gordon. There are no papers now at Gordon Castle, and the Richmond papers deposited in the West Sussex County Record Office deal almost entirely with the ducal family of Richmond. There are a few letters from various dukes of Gordon in the Newcastle MSS in the British Library, but nothing of great importance, and the only other collection, that of the Fochabers and Glenlivet papers among the records of the Crown Estates Commissioners, is also in the Scottish Record Office. There is also, kept with the Gordon Castle papers there, a typescript calendar of Gordon Castle MSS, which is a draft for a Historical Manuscripts Commission volume which never appeared. The items are mostly drawn from various points in the inventory of Gordon Castle papers and the Goodwood papers, and relate to the families of Richmond and Gordon.

In this thesis, items are deposited in the Scottish Record Office unless prefixed by the initials NRA(S), for the surveys of the National Register of Archives (Scotland) which list material held elsewhere either by private owners or public bodies, or noted as in the British Library or elsewhere. Currency is given in sterling unless 'scots' is given after the sum. Sometimes the fraction is so clumsy, that the scots sum has been retained, though usually it is given in sterling. In the notes and references for the tables, the MSS are referenced by their bundle or call number, along with the date at which the account was paid, or the date of writing of the letter. In the tables, the sums or quantities have been rounded down to the nearest quarter, or the nearest penny in sterling.

A genealogical table is given, showing the members of the Gordon family most often mentioned, and the names (given in capitals) by which they are usually noted in the text.

I am glad to acknowledge permission to use material owned by the Hopetoun Trustees, the Argyll Trustees, His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Mansfield. I must also thank many of my colleagues in the Scottish Record Office, particularly Dr Athol Murray, as well as Mr Stuart Maxwell, deputy keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Dr Duncan Thompson of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and Mr John Dunbar of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Dr William Ferguson and Mr John Simpson, for their help.

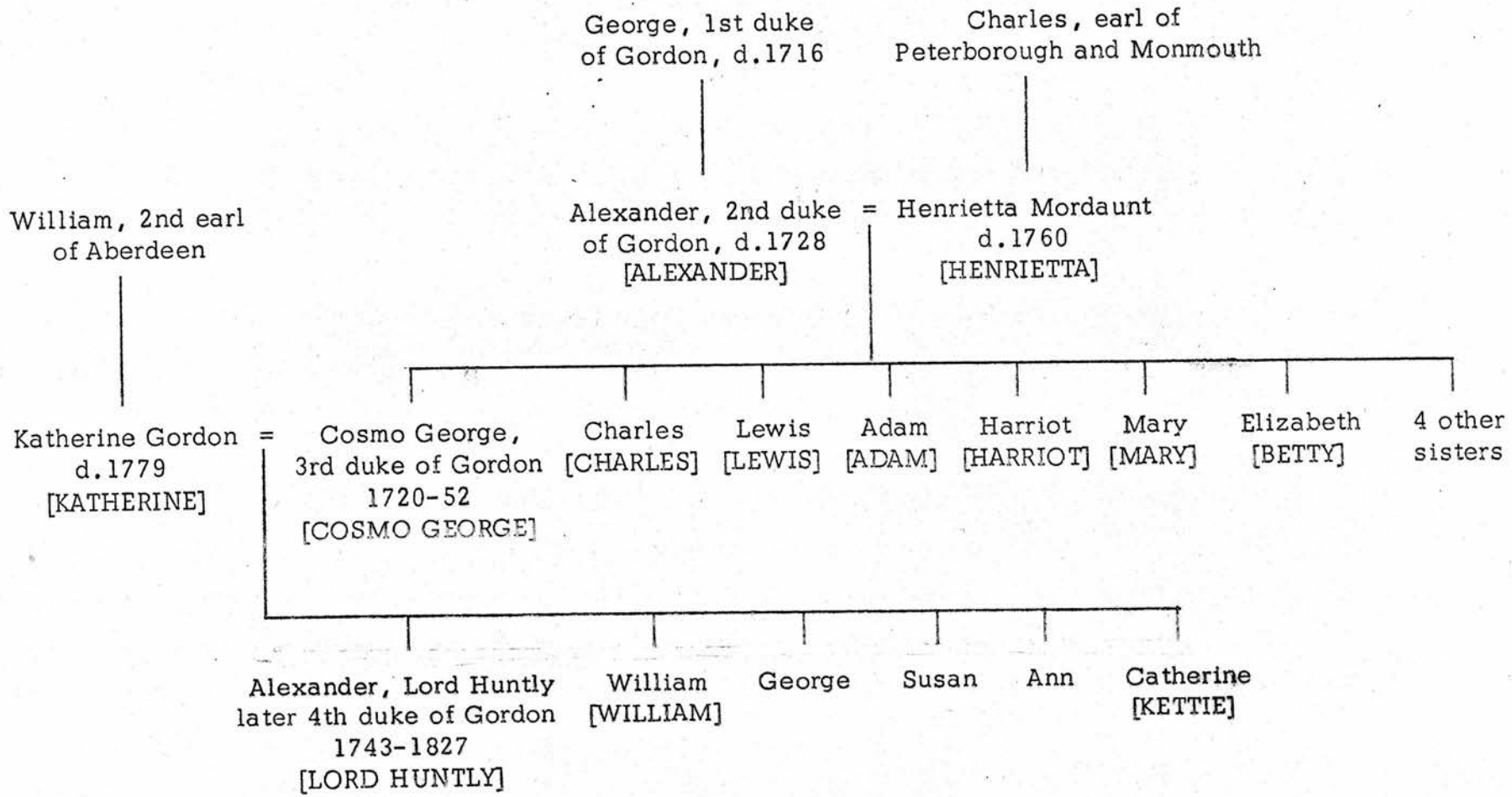
Finally, I would like to thank Mrs Mary Young for her typing of the ms. and tables.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work of this thesis is my own, and that it has been composed by myself.

Barbara L.H. Horn

Edinburgh
February 1977


George, 1st duke of Gordon, d.1716
Charles, earl of Peterborough and Monmouth
William, 2nd earl of Aberdeen
Alexander, 2nd duke of Gordon, d.1728 [ALEXANDER]
=
Henrietta Mordaunt d.1760 [HENRIETTA]
Katherine Gordon d.1779 [KATHERINE]
=
Cosmo George, 3rd duke of Gordon 1720-52 [COSMO GEORGE]
Charles [CHARLES]
Lewis [LEWIS]
Adam [ADAM]
Harriot [HARRIOT]
Mary [MARY]
Elizabeth [BETTY]
4 other sisters
Alexander, Lord Huntly later 4th duke of Gordon 1743-1827 [LORD HUNTLY]
William [WILLIAM]
George
Susan
Ann
Catherine [KETTIE]

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in tables

A. or Alex. - Alexander, lord Huntly, later fourth duke of Gordon
Adam - Lord Adam Gordon, Cosmo George's youngest brother
bott. - bottle
channld - channelled
Charles - Lord Charles Gordon, Cosmo George's younger brother
c'tom - custom
dble - double
dozn., doz - dozen
dr. - drop
dss. - Duchess
f. - firlot
gns - guineas
l. - lippy
p. - peck
pr. - pair
pt. - pint
qr. - quarter
qt. - quart
quart'n - quartern
Sp. - Spanish
w' - with
W., or Wm - Lord William Gordon, Cosmo George's second son

Note In the apothecary's bills, tables 109-113, the abbreviations have been left as they stand in the accounts.

Abbreviations used in notes

Scottish Record Office (SRO) classes:

- CC8 Edinburgh commissary records
- CH1-2 church records
- GD gifts and deposits
- RH Register House groups of records
- RHP Register House Plans
- SP[in RH4] State papers (photocopies of originals in the British Library)

NRA(S) - National Register of Archives (Scotland)

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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egree Doctor of Philosophy *Date* 1977

tle of Thesis DOMESTIC LIFE OF A DUKE; COSMO GEORGE, 3rd DUKE OF GORDON

A study of the background to the career of Cosmo George, third duke of Gordon, 1720-52, whose short life illustrates a period of change in the life of Scottish nobility, and a shift in emphasis from Edinburgh to London. The first chapters give a short sketch of the history of the Gordon family, and a description of the estate at the beginning of the 18th century. The duke's residence, Gordon Castle, is described, the building and alterations, along with the contents - furniture, silver, pictures and books, horses and stables, gardens and park. Details are given of the household, its size, organisation, discipline, duties and wages, and the supply and consumption of food and drink. The duke's occupations in the country are discussed, along with female pursuits, the making of clothes, illness and medicine, and visiting neighbours. The next section deals with the duke's visits to Edinburgh, the journey from Gordon Castle, purchases, occupations, food and drink. Much of the duke's adult life was spent in England, and the accounts afford a comparison with life at Gordon Castle. This section begins with an account of the journey from Edinburgh to London, details of the household, what was eaten and drunk, both at home and in taverns, the London house, the purchase of furniture for it, and life at Enfield, the duke's country house. His occupations in London are detailed, attendance in the House of Lords, and entertainments, along with purchases, both for immediate use and to be sent home to Scotland, medicines and visits to spas. Finally the duke's foreign tours are discussed, in Holland, the Low Countries and France. Comparisons are used to show up similarities or differences, from the lives of other Scottish peers, mainly the Breadalbanes, Hopetouns, Seafields and Marchmonts.

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CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

The origin of the Gordon family is unknown. There were Gordons or Gurdons in France and the south of England, though no relationship can be traced to the Scottish Gordons. Nisbet's Heraldry suggests that the Gordons were descended from the Swinton family as both families bear the same coat of arms. However, the name Gordon does not appear as a surname in Scotland till the end of the 12th century, and was then probably assumed, as the Scots Peerage states, by the then owners of the lands of Gordon in Berwickshire, who may have held these lands for some time from the earls of Dunbar, the superiors.

The first figure of importance was Sir Adam Gordon, who appeared at Elgin in 1296 to do homage to Edward I. Later he joined Bruce, and was sent to Rome in 1320, with the letter to Pope John XXII known as the Declaration of Arbroath.[1] It was probably on his return that he was given the lands of Strathbogie, the first land in the north of Scotland to be held by the Gordon family.[2] Previously they had belonged to David of Strathbolgi or Strathbogie, whose wife was a Comyn, and was involved in the fall of that family. Sir Adam's great grandson was killed at Homildon Hill in 1402, and he was eventually succeeded by Elizabeth, his only surviving child, wife of Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton, her guardian.[3] Their son, Alexander Seton, became first earl of Huntly in or about 1445, and took the name of Gordon.

The first addition to the lands of Strathbogie was Aboyne, which was acquired through the marriage of Sir Adam Gordon to Elizabeth Keith in about 1380, along with the lands of Glentannar, Glenmuick and Panbride, all of which had been inherited from Margaret Fraser, Elizabeth's mother. The first earl, in addition to these lands, was given the lordship of Badenoch in 1451, and in 1458 James II regranted the earl and his wife the lands comprehended in the earldom of Huntly: Strathbogie, Aboyne, Glentannar and Glenmuick in Aberdeenshire, Enzie in Banffshire, Badenoch in Inverness-shire, and Gordon and Huntly in Berwickshire. The rise of the family was naturally not without opposition, and various feuds interrupted its progress, including those with the Douglases, the earls of Ross and the Ogilvies, but none of these succeeded in stopping the advance of the Gordons for long. The third earl purchased many other lands, mostly in the north of Scotland, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, but after this not much was added to the Gordon territories by his successors. The careers of the fourth, fifth and sixth earls are interesting, but show their intervention in national politics, and a consequent neglect of personal aggrandisement in the north of Scotland. The fourth earl in particular had the fatal desire to keep in with both sides, and his feuds did not always turn out well for the family: Macintosh of Macintosh was subdued, but the quarrel with the Ogilvies resulted in the defeat at Corrichie in 1562, and the earl's death and disgrace.

Up to the Reformation there is nothing unusual about the careers of the various heads of the family, but the refusal of George, sixth earl, to turn Protestant, involved him and his descendants in serious trouble.

During the rest of the century, the family was one of the chief causes of unrest in the north east; they were on exceedingly bad terms with the families of Moray and Argyll; and the efforts they were forced to make to maintain their Catholicism diverted their attention from territorial expansion, and as a result their importance waned. Many Gordons were wilful and tended to act contrary to their own interest. George, second marquess, was beheaded in 1649, ostensibly for his support of the King, but probably as an example to others;[4] his wife was a Campbell, and their son, Lewis, later third marquess, was a very odd character, who was either forced or cajoled by Argyll, his uncle, into borrowing money and wadsetting his estates.[5] On the forfeiture of the second marquess, Argyll had no difficulty in obtaining the escheat of the Gordon estates, as a creditor to whom the sum of a million pounds scots was apparently due. As a result, the widowed marchioness was forced to leave Gordon Castle and retire to a house in Elgin where she brought up her young family.[6] Gordon Castle was then occupied by Lord Lorne, and the rents of the estate were paid to him. Lorne represented this occupation as a kindness to the Gordon family, but they were not on good terms.[7] At the Restoration, the situation changed; Argyll in his turn was forfeited and executed, and the Gordons returned to Gordon Castle. The familiessquabbled for years over their respective claims on each other, but no final settlement ever seems to have been reached.[8]

The family was one of the very few Scottish houses which remained Catholic, and there is much truth in the Abbe Macpherson's remark, that 'the preservation of the ancient faith was due, under God, to the house of Gordon'.[9] The Gordon lands were wide, and the concentration of

Catholics upon them was the subject of much unfavourable comment by the Church of Scotland. The Catholics abroad were also conscious of the importance of the continued adherence of the Gordons to Catholicism, and while priests in Scotland were few, there was always one at Gordon Castle, and others elsewhere on the estate.

In spite of many attempts to convert them, the first two dukes remained Catholic, and were thus barred from political life.[10] The first duke was temporarily in favour with the Catholic James VII and II, but with the arrival of William of Orange, the family retired once more to the opposition, and took a rather half hearted part in the various attempts to restore the Stuarts. However, Alexander, 2nd duke of Gordon, married Henrietta Mordaunt, an Episcopalian, and after his unexpected death, she brought up her family up as Protestants, and this was the end of the Catholic house of Gordon.

The position as head of the opposition was not one that suited the family. A Catholic was at a disadvantage in everything, and, while the laws against Catholics were not enforced in all their strictness, it was an unhappy position for them. The long term results of their adherence to Catholicism are not satisfactory. It is true that George acquired a dukedom, but the troubles which descended upon the family apart from this more than compensated for a momentary period of royal favour. A similar series of catastrophes befell the Argyll family, but the results were very different. The Argylls behaved much better in adversity, and when a crisis arose they were generally equal to it, while the Gordons were not. Their behaviour was indecisive when faced with a conflict between their loyalty to the exiled Stuarts and their own interests.

They may never have consciously sacrificed their principles for their own advantage or safety, yet they were always half hearted in their duty as Catholics to their exiled king. They were prevented by religion and honour from joining the rest of the Scots nobility in support of a Protestant king and Presbyterian church, yet prudence and a tendency towards cold feet in a crisis always stopped them from risking everything. The Campbell position was easier, for their alliance with the Covenanters against the Stuarts combined religious feelings and expediency, for Charles's Scottish policy lessened Argyll's interests materially, and the Campbell support for a Presbyterian government and a limited monarchy meant that the family emerged from the 17th century with a reputation as the main upholder of the Presbyterian religion and the principles of the Glorious Revolution, while the Gordons were quite reasonably regarded as untrustworthy papists.[11]

In the 18th century, Argyll had a basis for building up his political career, and the family emerged as the only Scottish one with any influence in England. With the Gordon change to Protestantism, the family sank gratefully into the background, and settled down to an unexciting but unpersecuted future, accepted both by the government and their neighbours. Henrietta's action thus succeeded inasmuch as it gave the family a security it had previously lacked, and removed it from an awkward position for which it was not suited.

The careers of the first three Gordon dukes are all quite different, and the only point in common is their involvement in a Jacobite rising, and even here their attitudes varied: George took an active part, even if not a very successful one; Alexander started well, but his courage

or belief in the success of the cause wavered early on in the rising, and Cosmo George abstained altogether.

George had been a soldier in youth, serving in the French army, and with the Prince of Orange in Flanders. During the reign of James VII and II, he had a short political career, his posts including privy councillor, commissioner of the exchequer, and constable of Edinburgh castle. He is best known for his defence of the castle for the Stuarts. He remained there, ignoring Claverhouse's protests that the action was useless and the men better employed elsewhere, until June 1689 when he surrendered, in spite of some unexpected support from John Park, minister at Carriden, who was hauled before an outraged Privy Council for various misdeeds, including having publicly prayed 'that the Castle of Edinburgh might be a brazen wall about the Duke of Gordon'.[12] On surrendering, George was returned to the castle as a prisoner along with other Jacobites who commented unfavourably on his behaviour.[13] He was shortly released, made a formal submission to William III at London, departed for France, and was coldly received at St Germains. Being unpopular on both sides, he set off on a tour through Switzerland and Germany under an alias, and was arrested in the Black Forest when suspected of an intention to return to Scotland.[14] He was imprisoned first at the Hague, and then sent back to Edinburgh Castle. On release he retired to Gordon Castle until his son married, when he removed to lodgings in the Citadel of Leith, dying there in 1716.

In 1676 he married Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Henry, duke of Norfolk, another Catholic family. The marriage was not a success, and she retired for some time to a convent in Flanders,

remarking that nothing would persuade her to return to her husband, 'tho her parents would rise from the grave or angels come from heaven to bid her do it'.[15] The intervention of Patrick, earl of Marchmont, was equally unsuccessful. Eventually both parties lived separately in Edinburgh, and were visited alternately by Alexander, their only surviving son.

Alexander, 2nd duke of Gordon, was born on 10 August in 1678 or 1679.[16] He was widely travelled, his acquaintances including Cosmo de Medici, grand duke of Florence, Popes Innocent XIII and Clement XI, Frederick and William, kings of Prussia, and the Margrave of Ansbach. The grand duke consented to become godfather to Alexander's heir, and sent a silvergilt basin and laver as well as a suit of armour, apparently as a christening present. Alexander commissioned Foggini to sculpt a bust of the grand duke, and they exchanged presents. He also endeared himself to Frederick of Prussia by supplying him with outsize soldiers for his army.

His behaviour in the '15 was very far from distinguished. He began well by employing a man to train his tenants in warfare, and supplied them with weapons and plaids, but his subsequent behaviour can only be explained by saying that his better feelings made him support the rising and then he developed nervous tremors and abandoned the effort before the failure of the rising was assured. His conduct surprised his contemporaries, who were unanimous in condemning it.[17] However, by disassociating himself early enough, he escaped forfeiture, and though he incurred more ill natured comment for this and by his remaining at home while his less fortunate followers suffered, he eventually went to London to intercede for those he had led into rebellion.[18] He

was previously confined like his father in Edinburgh Castle, and used this enforced leisure to consider his past and make plans for his future. As a result, the rest of his life was spent peacefully, conforming to a Hanoverian government, though probably engaging in some treasonable practices in a surreptitious manner. The Huntly race, for instance, was the occasion for a meeting of Jacobite plotters, though to offset this, Alexander took care to entertain the circuit lords and General Wade when occasion offered.

Like his father again, he did not live on good terms with his wife. He married Henrietta Mordaunt, only daughter of Charles, earl of Peterborough, in 1707. She was an Episcopalian, and maintained her own chaplain at Gordon Castle, along with Alexander's Catholic priest. She sounds an energetic and very trying person. She was charming and attractive at first sight, as her chaplain, William Harper, found out when he arrived in 1719, but a few years later he has decidedly changed his opinion and laments his inability to find a post elsewhere.[19] At one point she was considering leaving Alexander, who sounds equally hot tempered and prone to take offence, but he dissuaded her by pointing out that she would cause a good deal of speculation by living apart from him, and while he could not stop her, he intended to make the fact public that it was her decision not his.[20] In the event, Henrietta remained with him and, having already produced about six daughters, she went on to give him four sons, in addition to their first child, a son, who died in infancy.[21] There were 12 children in all, born between 1708 and 1728: seven daughters and five sons. All the children except Alexander, the eldest boy, lived to grow up, and Adam, the youngest, survived till 1801.

Cosmo George, the eldest surviving son, was born on 21 April 1720.[22] He was named for his godfather, Cosmo de Medici, and his grandfather.[23] In youth, his family addressed him as 'Cosy'.[24] Alexander died when the child was eight, on 22 November 1728,[25] of injuries received when his coach overturned. After this Henrietta brought the children up. She was a strong minded woman, and her decision to bring the family up in the Protestant faith was received with acclaim by the government and General Assembly. She managed the estate during her son's minority, and is credited with various innovations, though these do not appear in the surviving estate accounts.[26]

During his father's lifetime, Cosmo George had had a Catholic tutor, and then, on the change to Protestantism in 1728, the Catholic was changed for a Protestant. In 1735, Cosmo George was sent abroad to complete his education, and in the following year he attended classes at the University of Utrecht. At this point Henrietta's troubles with her children started, for Cosmo George, at a safe distance from maternal supervision, took to drink, games of chance and gambling, and generally exceeded his income.[27] Betty, his sister, also caused her mother a good deal of alarm, when she discovered the girl had been seduced by her own chaplain. After a frenzied correspondence and a variety of plans for concealing all, Betty achieved her aim and married the chaplain. Anne, the third daughter, was safely married to William, earl of Aberdeen, but Cosmo George, now returned from Holland and staying in London, quarrelled with his mother; she was very annoyed with him, but dreaded that a repulse from her would drive him into worse company. After anxious discussion, she decided to forgive and forget, and

welcomed him back to her London house. Charles, her second son, then asserted his independence, and was encouraged in revolt by Cosmo George, who promised to maintain him.

Apart from a series of letters on which the previous paragraph is based, there is little information on Cosmo George and his brothers and sisters. He himself was definitely stupid and unbalanced; his surviving letters show him to be no letterwriter, and the episode of Betty's seduction shows him in a very unpleasant light. His wife referred to him once as 'Johnny Fae'. He was not vicious and probably meant to do his best by his tenantry, though he never managed his estate personally for long. There are no very favourable comments on the Gordon family from their neighbours. Anne, his sister, was described by her lawyer as a flighty creature, penniless and never in the same mind for two moments; Charles was stupid and made at least one attempt at suicide; George, Cosmo George's third son, of Gordon riots fame, while a brilliant speaker, died insane; Adam, Cosmo George's youngest brother, infuriated his neighbours by his quibbles about trifles; and William, Cosmo George's second son, caused a good deal of comment by eloping with a married woman, and then refusing to marry her, setting off to walk to Rome instead, accompanied by a large dog.

In addition to quarrelling with his mother, gambling and taking to drink, Cosmo George also manifested an interest in women generally. His companion, John Hamilton, later his secretary, was worried when they were in London by the duke's behaviour at masquerades, but was unable to stop him attending them. Hamilton wrote to the duchess for advice, but was later able to report that at the previous night's

masquerade the duke had shown no more interest in women than was seemly. By the age of 19, Cosmo George was writing ardent (and very silly) letters to Katherine Gordon, daughter of William, earl of Aberdeen, and his own sister's stepdaughter.[28] She was 18 months older than Cosmo George, and did not think highly of him. However, her position at home was uncomfortable as she detested her stepmother, who was practically her own age, and she protested at being kept at home, ostensibly to keep her stepmother company. When she complained to her father, he merely called her a foolish child for not thinking as he wished,[29] and on discovering that her stepmother was opening her letters she was naturally furious. Under these circumstances, she was more receptive to suggestions of marriage from Cosmo George than she might otherwise have been. As she wrote to her aunt, it was an excellent match, and she might never get another offer. By July 1741, her father had agreed to the marriage, though Katherine herself professed to be still considering the idea. In the end, they were married at Dunkeld on 3rd September 1741.[30] The marriage contract was drawn up later by the duke's lawyer: in return for the very small dowry of £2,000, Katherine was to receive £800 yearly, with £400 a year if she outlived Cosmo George, in satisfaction of her terce.[31]

There were six children of the marriage: Alexander George, fourth duke of Gordon, born at Gordon Castle, 18 June 1743; William, born at York, 15 August 1744; Susan, born at Gordon Castle, [-] March 1745; Anne, born in London, 16 March 1748; Katherine, born in London, 22 December 1750;[32] George, leader of the Gordon riots, born in London, 14 December 1751.[33] In addition to these six children, Katherine had

at least one miscarriage.

Cosmo George did not live long enough to see what happened to his children, and in fact, they were not outstandingly successful. Alexander was an efficient duke of Gordon, though his private life was not happy, but William and George were both unbalanced characters, and while Susan made a first marriage to an earl of Westmorland, the other two girls made very poor marriages for duke's daughters, one to a minister and the other to an army captain.

The children were not much at home during their father's lifetime. The two elder boys were sent to Harrow at an early age, and the girls were often out of London for their health, Katherine or Ketty in particular being very sickly.

Once Cosmo George was married, and came of age, he was able to declare his political ambitions, and he was little at Gordon Castle after 1746. When he was there he did not concern himself much with his estate. Affairs were carried on by Henrietta and his curators during his minority, and then later by John Gordon, one of his former curators, as his commissioner and cashier.

Cosmo George did not keep his correspondence, and little survives. What there is indicates a lack of interest in local affairs. From his position he must have had some influence, but in the only recorded case - that of the election of clerk and collector for the shire of Banff in 1742 - this was not decisive.[34] This contest was between Alexander Innes, provost of Banff, who had occupied both posts since 1724, and two opponents, James Abercromby of Mayen and Sir William Gordon of Park, who endeavoured to remove Innes from both posts. Cosmo George

supported Innes, and this support included the polite blackmail of a tenant into voting for Innes. Voters on both sides included regular visitors to Gordon Castle, the Innes supporters voting for Patrick Gordon of Ardmeallie, and the Abernethy ones for Gordon of Park. Pro-Innes votes were given by the duke's closest supporters - Buckie, Cairnfield, Corskie, Northfield and Bogs - while the other side included two Gordons (Park and Edintore), as well as Braco and two Gordon tenants, the Hays of Rannes and Montblarie. In the end, Ardmeallie was elected praeses by 19 votes to 14, but the duke's influence was clearly not decisive. He probably did not bother much about local affairs, for in 1751, when the magistrates of Inverness were trying to raise money for the government sponsored herring industry, they sent out circulars to all and sundry.[35] Cosmo George was among those approached, and the letter survives, endorsed succinctly, 'resolved to take no concern in the herring fishing',[36] and this lack of interest seems typical of Cosmo George's attitude.

The only important event during his life was the '45, and in this he took no part at all, in contrast to his father and grandfather, who, if neither had distinguished himself, had at least come 'out' in person. Cosmo George however took to his bed, and left it to his younger brothers to take part.[37] His neighbours were scornful, and professed themselves doubtful whether his conduct was not caused by Jacobite feelings. The result was that Lord Findlater was the only considerable Hanoverian leader in the north east, and as he remarked indignantly afterwards, his property suffered most from Jacobite attacks as a result.[38]

Horace Walpole's only reference to Cosmo George comes at this

point. In a letter to Mann, Walpole writes, 'the young duke of Gordon sent for his uncle and told him he must arm their clan; "they are in arms". "They must march against the rebels". "They will wait upon the Prince of Wales". The duke flew into a passion, his uncle pulled out a pistol and told him it was in vain to dispute.'[39] Unfortunately, this pathetic picture of a young Hanoverian duke foiled by his wicked Jacobite uncle is not accurate, for it was Cosmo George's younger brother, Lewis, who animated the Jacobite cause in Aberdeenshire.

After the retreat from Preston, the Jacobite army arrived back in the north east and occupied Gordon Castle on 2 March 1746. The countryside was in confusion, and this was not helped by the action of the minister of Bellie, a firm Hanoverian, who, on the day the Jacobites arrived, being a Sunday, intimated from the pulpit the Duke of Cumberland's proclamation, charging the rebels to lay down their arms and return home. This resulted in an uproar. As the session clerk wrote, 'for which, great numbers of the rebels being in church, that afternoon many outrages were committed about his [the minister's] house, and upon Tuesday he himself was made prisoner by them, and we had no sermon from this time until the Duke's army came past, 12 April 1746'.[40]

Though Cosmo George had been brought up as a Protestant, there was some doubt as to his sentiments. On the outbreak of the rising, both sides called optimistically for his presence.[41] He himself said afterwards that he was strongly Hanoverian, and his influence over his tenants was certainly used on the government side.[42] Lewis claimed that this was why he failed to bring out enough of the Gordon tenants.[43] It is difficult to say how strong the Jacobite tendencies in the family were, for after

Culloden, all traces were naturally covered up as well as possible. Lewis was past saving, and there are some rather incriminating letters from Henrietta, showing her own sympathies were Jacobite.[44] As Cosmo George wrote later, he had done all he could for the government by encouraging the vassals he thought sincere in their professions of loyalty, and threatening the others with his resentment as well as the probable consequences for them from the law.[45] As a result, he claimed, most of his lowland estates were quiet, and in the highlands, the Jacobite support came from the lands of Lochiel, Keppoch and Cluny. It may be fair to say (as the duke did), that his tenants of Strathavon and Glenlivet only came out for Glenbucket, but it is ungentlemanly to explain (as the duke also did) that he had never imagined Glenbucket would rise owing to his age and infirmity. As the duke complacently pointed out, hardly anyone came from Fochabers and the Enzie, 'unless some idlers that stroll'd off volunteers, and some of the feuars that stept out in the same manner, expecting no doubt to be free of their holdings and feuduties'.[46]

However strong Cosmo George's influence might be as a landlord, he had little pull with his friends and relations, many of whom remembered him in his cradle, and knew his lack of spirit, instability of character, absence of military training and change of religion. Among the Jacobite leaders were some of his closest relations and friends, including John Hamilton of Sandston, his secretary, Charles Gordon of Binhall, Charles Gordon of Terpersie and James Gordon, his son, George Gordon of Birkkenbuss, George Gordon of Buckie, and two of Glenbucket's sons, John and David Gordon, while Cosmo George's place as leader was taken by Glenbucket himself. Many other Gordons claimed that Glenbucket had

forced them out, and the Jacobite success in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff is mainly due to his efforts. He did not even stick at the Gordon tenantry, but also forced out the tenants of Morange on the grounds that the superiority was claimed by Cosmo George.[47]

The Gordons make a prominent showing among those excepted from the 1747 Act of Indemnity - Kincardine Mill, Hallhead, Cobairdy, Avochie, Logie, Carnousie, Glastirim, Park and Lord Lewis himself. The only two Gordon families who remained Hanoverian were Cairnfield and Ardmeallie.

On the whole the rising ended well for the ducal family of Gordon at least, though, as in the '15, less well for their dependants. The only real casualty was Lewis, whose part had been too conspicuous for any hope of a pardon. Adam and Charles had both been actively engaged in the Hanoverian cause, and Henrietta managed to disengage herself, though her government pension was transferred to Cosmo George. Both he and Henrietta suffered at second hand from the rising, as their tenants could not pay their rents, and together they claimed compensation of over £6,000.[48] However, the long term result was favourable for the family, and for Cosmo George himself. He was now accepted as a well-wisher to the Hanoverian government, and in the ensuing Peers' Election of 1747, he was elected as one of the sixteen peers. He remained a Representative Peer, though an undistinguished one, till his death.

After this, most of his time was spent in England, either in London, or at his English countryhouse at Enfield. He was last at Gordon Castle in the winter of 1749-50. The three youngest children were born in London, George II standing godfather to George, the youngest. The King

cannot have had a less suitable godson. In May 1752, the duke and Katherine set out for France: he had not been well, and he died suddenly at Breteuil in France of a fever on 5 August 1752.[49]

The news of his death did not upset the government unduly. Newcastle wrote to Henry Pelham from Hanover on 21 August/1 September indicating that the King wished Cathcart as the duke of Gordon's successor in the Lords.[50] The same aspect struck Bubb Dodington in his only reference to Cosmo George, which is a simple note that he came up to town on 28 September, and that the Council was up, having 'nothing to do but prorogue the parliament and issue a proclamation for a Scotch peer on the death of the Duke of Gordon'.[51]

CHAPTER 2

THE ESTATE

In the eighteenth century, the Gordon estates covered an enormous stretch of territory in the counties of Inverness, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin and Nairn. The bulk of the estate was contained in the marquessate, earldom and barony of Huntly, which was made up of the following lands and baronies: Gartly, Touch, Clunie and Midmar, Cabrach, Glenrinnes, Knockbeth, Craigie-Tarves, Glentanar and Glenlivet, Badenoch, Lochaber, Kincardine, Ogstoun and Fochabers. It also contained the lands and lordship of Gordon and Fogo, the original Gordon lands in Berwickshire. Apart from the lordship of Huntly, the estate included some miscellaneous lands in Aberdeenshire, Urquhart in Inverness-shire, and Duffus in Moray, all bought after the erection of the lordship of Huntly, and therefore not included in it.[1]

For practical purposes the estate was divided into lordships, each with a factor. They were: Huntly; Auchindoun; Strathavon and Glenlivet; Badenoch and Lochaber; Castlelands of Inverness; Fyvie; Logie in Cromar; Duffus; Enzie; Urquhart; and the Dunfermline fishings on Spey.

These lordships differed a good deal in size and in the profits extracted from them. Some of them were surveyed later in the century, and table 1 gives the figures. The total of these surveyed estates is 453,460 Scots acres. The value of these individual lordships depended more on situation and soil than size. Some lands, particularly those in the Laigh of Moray, were naturally fertile, and others were drained,

planted, limed and manured. The uplands were always bleak and stony; crops could be cultivated in the valleys along the sides of the rivers, but the highland areas were composed of muir, bog, moss and heather. In Badenoch, the proportion of muir to wood and cultivated land was 25 to 26, and similarly in Lochaber the proportion was 59 to 60. This accounts for the very small profits of these two very large tracts of land.

Table 2 gives the net profits of each lordship, 1748-52, and shows the upward trend in profits generally.[2] In 1748 the total amounted to £4,570; by 1752 the figure has risen to £5,449 and by 1763 to £7,942.

The rents were the main source of income, augmented by compositions, grassums, sales of wood and salmon. The total sum produced by the estate, 1734-52, amounts to about £105,400 during these 18 years.

The next table (3) shows the money which the cashier calculated was expended, but as he only reckoned the money which passed through his hands, and some of the rents were paid direct to the duke himself, the total is less than the unknown figure which was actually spent or collected. From these figures, it appears, that taking the total as 20 parts, 4 parts went on the estate, 7 parts on payments of debts, and 9 parts on personal and family expenses. However, the actual sums spent by the duke are larger than those shown in the table, owing to his not accounting to his cashier for the money paid to him personally.

From this table, the total disbursements each year varied between £3,200 and £6,700, with an average from about 1744 onwards of about £6,500. This makes the duke's income roughly equivalent to one of the lesser English peers. In the middle of the century, few English peers had less than £5,000 a year, and the very rich ones, such as Bedford and

Devonshire, had between forty and fifty thousand pounds yearly.[3] The Duke of Newcastle's net annual income, 1741-51, was estimated at £11,500 (£5,000 from his offices and £6,500 from his estate).[4]

It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the income of the Scots peerage in the 18th century, because the valuation rolls used to calculate taxes are based on a mid 17th century figure for each sheriffdom. During the ensuing 150 years, these same totals were used, and the figures given for individuals are fractions of this total, shifted around to approximate to the holding in that sheriffdom.

However, taking these rolls as a rough basis, it is possible to guess at a comparative estimate at least. The figures range from the duke of Buccleuch with an income of nearly £100,000 scots, down to Lord Kellie with £300 scots. Buccleuch is followed by Roxburghe (£60,000 scots), Argyll (£31,000 scots) and Gordon (£27,000 scots). These four dukes are followed by the other five dukes, two of the three marquesses, and 16 earls, all valued at over £12,000 scots. Below this follow the other marquess, the rest of the earls, the three viscounts and all the barons.

These figures cannot be relied on as an estimate of income, for they were worked out only as a basis for taxation on land, the value of which rose considerably since the system was introduced, and they do not include income from any other source. However the general picture, with the dukes as the wealthiest section of the peerage at the top and the baronage at the bottom, seems reasonable, and the top figures were those whose incomes enabled them to compete with the English peers and indulge in various expensive tastes.

These figures are borne out by various 18th century rentals and estimates of income for the peerage. Buccleuch's income by 1783, derived from his Scottish estates in the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles, was £21,063 net, and from his lands in Oxfordshire and London another £1635 net, thus giving him an annual income of £22,700 net.[5] The rental of Argyll's estate for crop 1705 amounts to £5285 gross.[6] No later rental for the Argyll estates is available, but with the upward trend during the second half of the century, there must have been a steep rise in profits to match the rise in Buccleuch income. Similarly, the Duke of Montrose's Scottish estates brought him in about £4000 a year net during 1743-7.[7] This total was made up, as Cosmo George's income was, of rents, entries of vassals, sales of land and superiorities, interest paid by debtors, and animals sold. Gorthie, the factor, managed to save a little, even after sending most of the money to Montrose in England, and paying for land bought, interest due, law affairs and annuities: he had a surplus of nearly £2000 in 1745 on crops 1743-5, and one of over £600 in 1747 on crops 1746-7.

Further down the scale, the Rothes estate produced £2178 net for crop 1756. Lord Stormont's estate brought in £2550 net in 1762, and £2670 in 1763, but this sum included the produce of the Annandale estate as well as that of the Stormont lands in Perthshire. This makes Lord Stormont's income much the same as Lord Marchmont, who reckoned his income from his estate at £2800 in 1731, while Lord Seafield's lands brought in £1450 net in 1743, and £1760 in 1748, rising to £13,735 by 1790,[8] and Lord Airlie's income, gross, was calculated at £1160 in 1730, rising to £1650 in 1761 and £1910 in 1764.[9] Breadalbane's rental

shows an enormous upsurge during the century, for in 1696 his income net from his lands in the counties of Perth and Argyll was reckoned at only £720, while by 1796 this has soared to £10,902 net.[10]

These figures are equalled by some of the incomes of the more affluent gentry. The Grant of Grant income, gross, was £1166 in 1730-1, £2000 in 1752, and £2050 in 1759-60,[11] while Scott of Harden's rental, net, was reckoned at £1128 in 1710, rising to £2400 by 1722. Lord Aboyne was poorer: his income, net, in 1732 was £800, rising to £1200 by 1764.

From these figures, Cosmo George's annual income of about £6500 net puts him into the small group of wealthy Scottish peers. This income was expended without difficulty, and the rest of this thesis is devoted to showing how the duke spent his money, at least the half of his income that went on personal and household expenses. I have not dealt fully with the money spent on the estate as this merits a separate thesis. However, the rest of this chapter is taken up by a discussion of the relationship between Alexander, 2nd duke, and Cosmo George, 3rd duke of Gordon, and the tenants on their estate, and their efforts to improve and develop their lands.

Alexander was among those enterprising landlords of the early 18th century who took an interest in the development of their estates. He started various enterprises, including coal and blacklead mines, cutting the Rothiemurchus forests, exporting salmon and grilse from the Spey, sending victual by sea to other parts of Scotland, brickmaking and weaving.

The earliest reference noted to coal is in 1709, when Alexander

met a man who claimed to have found coal in the highlands for the Duke of Argyll.[12] In the following year, Alexander engaged two men, described as coal sinkers from Gateshead in County Durham, to visit Gordon Castle, and report on the prospect of finding coal on the Gordon estates.[13] For this purpose, they sold Alexander a set of boring rods, along with chisels, wimbles, saws and axes. John Cotesworth wrote later in the year from Newcastle, enclosing his account, but there is no further reference to coal mining, so presumably the search was not successful.[14] There was a blacklead mine near Huntly, at Invers, which was worked by the duke. The overseer, Gavin Wren, had come from England to supervise the work. In 1722, some blacklead was sent to London, but when last heard of, the merchant to whom it was sent was unable to dispose of it.

The enormous tract of old Caledonian forest at Glenmore was owned by Alexander, and he began to exploit it at about the same time as the coal mining. In 1709 he engaged a wright from the sawmill at Leith, who was to serve him for £30 a year, with a free house, kailyard and fire in addition.[15] By the following year, Alexander was building a sawmill at Glenmore, from a wooden model. By 1716 there was another sawmill at Fochabers. The wood was cut into suitable lengths, usually 10 feet, made into rafts, and, when the river was high enough, it was sent down the Spey to Garmouth. In 1720, the work at Glenmore was being supervised by a Quaker called William Francis. The wood was used locally and also exported. Alexander used it himself for additions and repairs at Gordon Castle and in Fochabers, and on the various farms on the estate, as well as building new houses for the workers at the

sawmill, the bridge at Bridge of Deer, and boat building. He also sold it locally, purchasers including Lord Findlater, Sir Harry Innes, a goldsmith in Aberdeen, and Colonel Middleton. In 1723, Alexander sold a large order to Alexander Jaffrey of Kingwells: 1200 deals of 10 feet, 100 of 12 feet and 50 of 14 feet. They were floated down the Spey to Boat of Skirdustan, and the cost totalled £60.[16] Deals were also sent to London: in 1722 the timber shipped there was specified as 278 12 feet deals, 102 of 10 feet, 60 planks of 12 feet and 38 planks of 10 feet.[17] When counted by the hundred they were long hundreds, that is, reckoned at 6 score the hundred. Deals were also sent to Newcastle. The necessary implements, saws, chisels and files, were bought in Leith. In 1711, there were two sawmillers employed at Fochabers, and the head sawmiller was then paid £16 a year. The time taken by the floats down the Spey varied: in 1711, they took 6 days from Cromdale to Garmouth, and in 1713, 24 days from Glenmore to Speymouth.

By the end of the century, the dukes had handed over the trade to others. The Glenmore woods were leased to an English company.[18] By then there were two sawmills in Fochabers, a windmill and a water mill. The workers included 28 carpenters, 16-18 sawyers and 8 sawmillers. The wood was used for boat building, some of the masts being 60 feet in length.[19]

Salmon and grilse in the Spey were caught for the duke. There were four boats, each holding 7-8 men, who caught the fish and sold it to Alexander at the current price good between Banff and Lossiemouth.[20] It was mostly exported, though some of it was eaten by the family and servants at Gordon Castle. In the season of 1722, one boat caught 111

salmon and 403 grilse, and another caught 123 salmon and 445 grilse. For these fish the duke paid 7s 6d scots for a salmon and 2s 6d scots for a grilse. The coupars in Garmouth made the casks and packed the fish up for export. In 1722, they packed 9 last and 9 barrels of salmon and grilse. As well as this bought fish, Alexander was entitled to so much kain fish. In 1722 this amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ barrels and 9 loose salmon and 4 barrels and 15 loose grilse. In some years the numbers of barrels exported are given: in 1711 the total was $91\frac{1}{2}$ barrels; in 1715, $22\frac{1}{2}$; 1716, 144; 1717, 43; and 1718, 90. The barrels were despatched to various places in Scotland, and once at least, as far as Italy. There was occasionally trouble with the fishers. In 1718, they were stealing grilse and embezzling the salmon, and in 1727 the duke was faced with a fisher who refused to go to sea.[21]

As with the wood, by the end of the century the family was no longer in charge of the operations. The fishing by then was leased to two men, one from Perth and the other from Portsoy. They paid the duke £1500 for this lease annually.[22]

Victual not required at home was exported. Any boat being returned to the north east could be pressed into service for this, and once, in 1716, when Alexander, writing from Gordon Castle, was arranging for the despatch of his father's embalmed body from Leith to Portsoy, he was careful to point out that the boat could be used to take victual back on the return trip to Edinburgh.[23] In 1722, 500 bolls oatmeal were sent from the lordship of Huntly alone, the boll being reckoned at 8 stones, and the price at 7 merks scots the boll. Two hundred bolls of this were sent to a merchant in Perth. The export continued throughout the century.

The figures at the end of it were 400-500 bolls in each cargo, and 4-5 cargoes a year.

Bricks were made locally in Fochabers, under the supervision of an English workman called Humphrey Marchant. The earliest reference is one of 1707; by 1716, the brickmaker was making the bricks for the garden wall at Gordon Castle.

Weaving was also encouraged by Alexander. The Huntly bleachfields were famous, but the locally woven materials were coarse and unattractive. To encourage a better type of work Alexander tried to import workers from the south. In 1709-10 he was corresponding with Edward Snellgrove in Morpeth, who replied assuring Alexander that he was trying to persuade his wife and daughter that there was as good a living to be made in some parts of North Britain as in Northumberland, and that matters would improve further when trade was settled. He also sent Alexander some yards of coloured plush or shag along with the letter, but he does not seem to have been able to persuade his female relations to move north.[24] Undeterred by this, Alexander set about engaging another workman from nearer home. This time he was successful, and Andrew Grieve from St Ninians near Stirling promised to come to Fochabers with his wife, and in return Alexander was to give him a free house and kailyard for the first year.[25] This industry was still flourishing at the end of the century, when there was a manufacturer on the burn of Fochabers weaving stockings, and another supplying lint and thread.

On Alexander's death, these efforts at developing the estate ceased. Cosmo George was only eightat his father's death, and while Henrietta and his other curators managed the estate during his minority,

there are few further references to such improvements. The curators and later the duke's commissioner concentrated more on extorting the rents from the tenants, and keeping up churches and manses, schools and schoolmasters' houses, or building them when necessary.

The fact that up to 1728 the family of Gordon was Catholic meant that the estate harboured Catholics in quantities. According to a Protestant view of 1720, there were 7,600 Catholics in the western isles, Argyll and Aberdeenshire, of which number 3,100 were living on the Gordon estates.[26] That is, about half the total in the highlands and Aberdeenshire was encouraged and protected by the Gordons. By 1751, another suggested figure gives 12,000 Catholics in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Inverness, of which total only 3,000 lived on the Gordon lands.[27] This suggests that the numbers on the Gordon estate has remained static, while there was a rise in numbers elsewhere.

Under a Catholic duke, the position of a partly Catholic tenantry was more secure than elsewhere. Religious differences were fomented when Catholics, relying on the duke's protection, and Protestants, urged on by Presbyterian ministers, clashed, and the position of the Presbyterian minister of Bellie was always difficult, as he complained regularly to presbytery, synod and Assembly. For one thing, there were delays in paying his stipend, and, even worse, with a Catholic priest and an Episcopalian chaplain both at Gordon Castle within his parish, he was at a disadvantage, for any delinquents in his flock could easily escape the kirk session's discipline by turning Catholic. Once the Moderator of the General Assembly was induced to write to Henrietta, asking for payment of the minister's stipend, tactlessly assuring her in addition

that the Assembly was praying that she might 'be a blessed instrument to gain your noble lord to the true Protestant religion'.[28] This clearly annoyed Alexander, who answered the letter himself, in very vague terms, only promising to encourage the minister as he deserved, obviously thinking that he did not deserve encouraging at all.

This particular minister departed thankfully in the following year for the comparatively peaceful charge of Forres. His successor did not arrive quickly, and Henrietta then caused alarm by allowing an Episcopal minister to intrude and preach in the Presbyterian church. The ensuing disturbance was reported to Peterborough, her father, who made her dismiss the intruder and promise not to repeat the offence. The next presbyterian minister, Thomas MacCulloch, was not popular, but his slackness as a bulwark of the Protestant faith probably made relations with the castle easier. His parishioners claimed that he had never administered communion in twenty years, and about the only time he appears in the Gordon Castle papers is the occasion when he was prosecuted by the bailie of the regality for shooting partridge in February.[29]

The Assembly took the position of the Catholic predominance in the north east very seriously, and complained regularly of the behaviour of the first two dukes of Gordon. The Assembly's charge that the dukes, as administrators of the local court, protected the Catholic parties, is not borne out by the Huntly regality court books.[30] The bailie sits, fines or gives judgment, but the grounds for his decisions are not given, and most of the business is concerned with squabbles between neighbours, or efforts by the duke's factors, defending his property from damages or extorting the rents. However, while there is no evidence to show that

Catholic tenants were favoured at the expense of their Protestant neighbours, their position was certainly more secure. The result of this protection was that the bulk of the support for the '45 came from the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. The Gordon estates were thus, as a result of the Catholic preponderance, a centre for Jacobite feeling and intrigue.

The Assembly and the government certainly felt this, and the former body complained regularly of the encouragement given to Catholics by the dukes of Gordon. On one occasion, the presbytery of Strathbogie remarked, on sending lists of papists within its bounds to the Commission of the General Assembly, 'altho these things are true as the sun shines, yet such a legal probation is required against the sayer and hearers of mass...in this country, where the influence of a great man is such, that none will be engaged to serve the government and a reformation interest in that matter, and resolve to live openly in this country thereafter'.[31] Another list of grievances of 1706 lists the signs of popish influence as public mass and popish conventicles at Kincardine, superstitious rites and ceremonies at burials, chapels and altars built and crucifixes erected in the fields in at least five parishes. The Catholic priests protected by the duke are given - eight in the Enzie and Strathbogie and three trafficking priests. Some years later, there are stated to be twelve priests in Strathbogie alone, as well as a popish teacher in the grammar school at Fochabers and various private popish schools throughout the district.[32]

Remedies were sought for this state of affairs. The most effective were produced by the Royal Bounty Commission which sent preachers out armed with suitable literature, and the SSPCK which established Protestant

schools in predominantly Catholic areas. And as far as the Gordon estates went, the conversion of Cosmo George in 1728 meant that Catholics were less favoured on the Gordon estates, and while nothing indicates they were persecuted, no new Catholics probably arrived from elsewhere.

The behaviour of the first two Gordon dukes as Catholic landlords is not well documented, but from odd instances they may have encouraged Catholics in principle, but in practice a defaulting tenant was prosecuted whether Catholic or not. George was not prevented from suing a fellow Catholic when she cheated him over a bed, and when he spitefully informed the Treasury that she was a Catholic, she was struck off the charity roll.[33] Alexander once said that he did not favour his Catholic tenants but treated them all as they deserved. However as a Catholic, with a Catholic priest acting as factor of the lordship of the Enzie, it must have been difficult for him not to discriminate. At least a Protestant once succeeded in extracting money from the kirk session of Monzie on the grounds that Alexander had turned him out of his possession to give it to a Catholic.[34]

Alexander, as a Catholic, was at a disadvantage in dealing with the established church. His right of presentation was exercised by the crown, though he was still forced to pay the stipends, which, added to his support of the Catholic priests on his estate, meant that he had to support two sets of clergy. He was also called on to act with the Protestant heritors in the various parishes in repairing and building churches and manses, and sent a Protestant nominee, Bailie James Chalmers, to represent him at the heritors' meetings. On some occasions, matters were

arranged quite amicably, as in 1724, when there was a discussion about the application of the communion money in the parish of Cairnie, and in 1725, when the church at Huntly was built. On less happy occasions, there were arguments. When the minister of Laggan, which would have been in Alexander's gift if he had been Protestant, had the audacity to present to the Assembly a memorial on the growth of popery, Alexander wrote him a very rude letter telling him to mind his own business.[35] Relations deteriorated further by 1726, when the Commission of the Assembly decided that the duke, as almost sole heritor of Bellie, was taking too long to repair the church. The Commission decided that the best way to hurry the duke on with this would be to occupy the chapel which had been built for the Gordon family as a private Catholic chapel. This manoeuvre worked, for Alexander was so alarmed by this and the ensuing riot when the minister of Bellie attempted to preach in the chapel, that he made a special journey to London to persuade the king to forbid this. However it cannot have made his feeling towards the Protestant church more cordial. While debarred from participating at heritors' meetings, Alexander did his best to influence his friends and tenants behind the scenes. In 1723, when a new minister at Kirkmichael was to be chosen, Alexander wrote to James Grant of Ruthven, the bailie depute there, urging him to join with his neighbours and choose the most 'moderate' candidate, as 'most for my people's good, therefor most agreeable to mee'.[36] He was prepared to encourage Protestants when good tenants, for on the occasion when the parishioners of Ruthven applied to him for wood to roof the school, he promised 30s, adding cautiously 'take there declaration I giv it in a present for the scool

building for incuragment'.[37]

The Gordon family was charitable to the poor at the door. Alexander always gave 7s weekly for the poor at chapel, and distributed a regular daily allowance to the poor at the castle gate. Similarly, his mother distributed a firlot of meal weekly to the poor. Alexander also founded a hospital at Auchenhalrig for eight bedesmen, usually old or ailing workmen on the estate. They were maintained there at the duke's expense, and given money for clothes as well as an allowance of meal, a boll per quarter each. This hospital was continued by Alexander's successors, who found it a useful way of providing for superannuated retainers. Other tenants received assistance as required. Elizabeth, duchess of Gordon, started a Catholic school in the Enzie in 1692, paying a woman £4 scots yearly to teach poor children.

Alexander in particular had a kind heart for beggars and suppliants in general provided with a good story. Once, when a woman, formerly a tenant in Mortlach, claimed that she had supplied the castle with six wedders but that her receipt had been burned along with her house, Alexander wrote obligingly to his chamberlain, 'though I find no proof of the sheep coming to my use, yet in regard the poor woman has been at much pains, let her have the whole twelve pounds'.[38] Similarly, madmen, cripple highlanders, harpers, pipers, blind persons or anyone claiming to be a Gordon in financial straits was sure of a small sum from the duke, and Cosmo George continued this tradition, though less lavishly.

Cosmo George's pensioners included the eight bedesmen, various distant Gordon relatives, old servants and the poor in general. During

the scarcity of 1741, he ordered 52½ bolls of meal to be distributed among the country poor. As he wrote to the curator, 'nobody feels more for the cause of the poor than I do nor shall any body be more ready to assist them than I shall when it has pleased God to place me in such a situation in this world as to have it so much in my power to do it. I would not have this gift confined to people only of one way of thinking but to Church of Scotland, Church of England or Roman Catholics just as they are objects of charity and compassion'.[39]

This is an unusually broad minded view in an age when a neighbouring landlord such as Patrick Grant, lord Elchies, was insisting that his tenants attended the church of his choice.[40]

Apart from tenants, the Gordons do not seem to have been popular with their neighbours. Alexander in particular maintained a detached attitude. When Braco wrote him a very decisive letter in 1726, Alexander merely endorsed it as 'Bracos od letter about witnesses against Gordon Pitglasse' and does not seem to have concerned himself further.[41] He also endorsed a satirical poem suggesting that Argyll was aided by the devil with a note suggesting he agreed with this. Cosmo George's own lack of influence in local politics has already been mentioned, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that during the first 60 or 70 years of the 18th century, the Gordon dukes were markedly ineffective and disregarded in local affairs, except in their own domestic and family circle, and even there Henrietta and Katherine probably endeavoured to have the last word.

CHAPTER 3

GORDON CASTLE

The chief residence of the family from the end of the 17th century was Gordon Castle, six miles from Elgin, four miles from the Moray Firth, where the Spey enters the sea. Its earlier name was Bog, or Bog of Gight, while its founder called it his new wark on Spey. It stood in the old bed of the Spey, in a bog, for purposes of defence. A towerhouse in a bog, with a drawbridge and causeway, provided a retreat in times of trouble, which, as with most other families, were fairly common. The name is tautologous, for both halves mean bog, the second from the gaelic, goith. In the 18th century, James Gordon, minister at Bellie, translated the name as 'windy bog', for, as he added with feeling, there is 'a very free circulation of air from the Frith and the w[est]'.[1] The castle, as originally built by George, 2nd earl of Huntly, in the late 15th century, consisted of a tower, which survives, probably measuring about 60 x 40 feet. The rest of the building is unknown. The appearance up to the late 18th century was early 17th century in style: great alterations were made in 1614, by the 1st marquess of Huntly, when he also remodelled Huntly Castle. The latter survives in this form, and gives a good idea of how Gordon Castle must have looked at this point. A drawing in Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae, entitled 'Inverero', shows the building at the end of the 17th century.[2] From this it can be seen that the castle was a remarkable building, blending French and late Gothic, Elizabethan and Scottish baronial elements, as at Huntly.

Probably the same master mason was employed at both castles, for the style of the inscriptions is identical. That at Huntly is almost complete, while the Gordon Castle inscription was only revealed during demolition. At this time the tower was enlarged and remodelled. One of the most remarkable features of the new building was the series of galleries, which can be seen in the Slezer print; they may have been echoed at Huntly in the arcaded piazza. The latter have disappeared but the foundations remain to the east of the main block. Similar though slightly earlier loggias appear at Crighton and Castle Campbell. The result at Gordon Castle is a tour de force of the Scottish renaissance, as outstanding in its way as the Earl's Palace, Kirkwall, or Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.[3]

Six months before George, 4th marquess of Huntly, was made a duke, he was given a charter of confirmation of his lands, marquessate, earldom and lordship of Huntly, ratified in parliament in 1685.[4] In this ratification, it was stated that the Bogue should now be called Gordon Castle, while Fort William in the barony of Inverlochie was to be Gordonsburgh. This brings the name of the chief residence of the family into line with other castles like Menzies, Fraser, Campbell, Stewart and Douglas, where the name of the family was used for the residence, a reversal of the earlier practice of naming the person from the lands in the way the Gordons originally acquired their name from the Berwickshire lands.

Little was apparently done to the castle after this until the late 18th century. Henrietta is credited with bringing the building up to date, and a lavatory, called a house of office, was added. The first detailed

account for building noted is dated 1700, due to John Cumming, mason in Fochabers, for 'bigging a stair at the tirless [turnstyle] gate & for closeing up a slap in the garden wal, a chimney in the laugh dining room & hewing & setting a stone to the park gate at Phochabers, a chimney in the gallows chamber, I having received 5s for the last artickle, being half a days worke by it selfe'.[5]

The chief mason employed about the building by Cosmo George was John Chalmers, mason in Fochabers, and such alterations as the duke ordered were carried out by him. The first surviving account of 1741 is mainly concerned with the erection of a new lavatory, now called a necessary house. This was an elaborate affair, with walls of rough freestone from Roseisle in Moray. Three years later, extensive repairs were undertaken on the roof of the old tower, using more of the same freestone. The stone was sent up the Spey by boat, and as the river was in spate at the time, the boat was wrecked, and the freestone had to be dug out of the bottom of the river when the spate went down. The timber used on this occasion came from the laird of Grant, and the lead was bought in Aberdeen. Chalmers had an assistant, Alexander Geddes, wright, who helped, in his own breathless words, by 'makeing Scaffolds to the masons when Rebuilding the old Tower, helpeing to unroof the same, Taking down the Boxing of Huntlys room, making Lintels for the massons, making a windless to do., Taking down the Bed & Boxing of Mrs Pantons Room, sawing oak planks for Lintells, making a frame of Oak Plank to goe round the Top of the wall of the old tower, Landing the Trees for the Roof, Squaring, sawing & binding the same, laying dealls on the Top of the wall for the Lead & sarking, Taking down the Run roof of the Galery

Sarking it up & making figures for the Sclaters, Taking of the sclates of the Maids rooms & making up the Roof & sarking, setting the storm windows of the Tower, putting up Scaffolds to the Sclaters, Raising the floor of Huntlys room, taking down the old Joists, taking up the New & Laying them, Making Battons for the plumer to naill on the Lead on the Diagonals, Helping the Plumer to take up his Lead & nailling it on, Taking down the Tackle and Scaffolding'.[6] All this employed him for 140 days at 10d per day.

John Chalmers continued his work about the castle during the '45, though the place was in confusion. He listed the work he did between January and November 1746, as cleaning chimneys, mending mangers and stoves, causewaying the riding horse stable and mending the kennel, 'with a great many other jobs too tedious here to mention'.

Apart from the new lavatory, Cosmo George did not make any innovations, for all the other surviving accounts are for mending what was already there. His proposed alterations were not carried out because of his early death. However, Alexander, his son, when he grew up, embarked on an ambitious plan which completely transformed the castle. The architect, John Baxter from Edinburgh, was eventually chosen, after John Adam had also submitted plans.[7] Adam's house was not as imposing as the chosen design, which was 568 feet in length. In this plan, the original tower was built into a block of four stories in the centre, with two storied wings connected by arcades, leading to single storied buildings with attics as pavilions at either end. All this took more than 20 years to complete. It is this phase in the history of the building which is mentioned in travellers' memoirs and guidebooks. After a fire

in 1829, parts of the building were rebuilt. When the widow of the last duke died in 1864, the castle went to the family of Richmond (later Richmond and Gordon), and the building was only occupied intermittently, and decayed. It was pulled down, suffering from dry rot, after the last war, leaving only the original tower and the two Baxter pavilions.[8]

Apart from the Slezer drawing, there is an interesting series of elevations and a ground plan of 1767, made by William Anderson just before Baxter rebuilt the castle.[9] From these drawings it can be seen that the building has altered little since the 17th century. The arcading has gone but the outlines are the same. Later drawings, such as Cordiner's, show the castle in its Baxter phase.

There are not many references to the castle by passing travellers earlier than the 18th century; before that it is usually Huntly Castle that is mentioned. The first printed reference noted is in John Taylor's travels; he visited Badenoch in 1618 and mentioned that he was entertained at Bog of Geethe.[10] Twenty years later, Spalding, in drawing a pathetic picture of the departure of the relict of the first marquess, forced by her religion to take refuge in France, mentions 'hir stately boolding of the Bog, beautifiet with mony warldly yairdis, parkis and pleasures'.[11] He continues less romantically with the information that the marchioness also took with her all the gold and silver plate of both Huntly and the Bog. Another more celebrated visitor was Charles II, who landed at Speymouth in 1650, and lodged for one night at the Bog, which was then unoccupied owing to the family troubles. He, when waited upon by some Gordon tenants with apologies, remarked with his usual talent for saying the right thing combined with a total disregard

for accuracy, that 'he was very sure if the stones of the house could speak, they would cheerfully make him welcome'.[12]

After the escheat of Lord Huntly in 1649, Gordon Castle was occupied by Lord Lorne. It was during his tenancy that Richard Frank visited it, and described it in effusive if patronising tones as a 'palace, all built with stone, facing the ocean; whose fair front (set prejudice aside) worthily deserves an Englishman's applause, for her lofty and majestic towers and turrets that storm the air and seemingly make dints in the very clouds. At first sight I must confess, it struck one with admiration, to gaze on so gaudy and regular a frontispiece, more especially when to consider it in the nook of a nation'.[13] Another visitor, Thomas Kirk, twenty years later in 1677, gave the building more temperate praise, describing it accurately as very high, but adding with a lack of perception that it was built in the usual manner of castles in that country. His only moment of enthusiasm was when he mentioned the quality and amount of the claret which was offered to him.[14]

The castle was regularly visited by travellers throughout the 18th century, though they were not always favourably impressed. Dr Clephane, the brother of Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock, who came to see the house in 1750, noted that it was 'miserably' furnished.[15] The house was shown whether the family was in residence or not. The housekeeper was, as was customary in other places, employed to show the visitors round, taking the tips as a perquisite. John, Lord Hopetoun, was probably unusual when he insisted that visitors to Hopetoun were not to offer tips.

It is not possible to give an estimate of the size of Gordon Castle, but the number of rooms is given in the various inventories of furnishings,

and the totals for Gordon Castle in 1753, compared with those for Tyninghame in 1735 and Taymouth in 1755, are given in table 4. From this, Gordon Castle was considerably smaller than either of the others, especially as the Taymouth list does not mention lofts, garrets or cellars, presumably present but not containing anything worth valuing. At Tyninghame the excess is mostly closets and offices, which may mean that the actual building was not much larger, but that the rooms were smaller. Taymouth is obviously much bigger, even without lofts and cellars. The servants are better cared for, with more bedrooms allotted to them, and there are more closets as well.

Cosmo George never lived in Huntly Castle, which had been deserted by the family as a habitation since the middle of the 17th century. In the time of Alexander, 2nd duke of Gordon, his factor lived in Huntly Castle, and minor repairs were undertaken in the beginning of the 18th century to enable the factor and his family to live in the castle. In 1725, Alexander decided to have the old tower pulled down, and this had been done by 1731 at a cost of £30.[16] By 1728, the neglected garden had been ploughed up. An inventory of the castle taken in the same year shows that the building was no longer used except as an office for the factor, and perhaps as an occasional shelter for servants.[17] The stones of the old tower were used by John Hamilton, the factor of Huntly, and later Cosmo George's secretary, to build himself a small house nearby, called Huntly Lodge or Sandston. It was finished by 1742. After John Hamilton's execution as a Jacobite, Cosmo George repaired the house for his own use as a shooting box or lodge. Repairs had started by the summer of 1747 under the control of John Chalmers, the

Gordon Castle mason. New furnishings for the house were ordered from John Gordon, the London cabinetmaker. The total of his bill was £258, paid in May 1749. The house was a small one, consisting of drawing-room, diningroom, countingroom, two bedrooms and four garrets, along with the usual kitchen premises. There were 12 beds in all, nearly all with blue hangings, and most of the furniture was mahogany, with oak hall chairs.[18] The lodge was only occupied for short periods in the summer, and on these occasions the provisions were supplied by the Huntly inn-keeper, as in 1749 for the Huntly race, when the castle was used for the last time for a ball. By 1794, the Huntly minister could refer to it as 'this once magnificent fabric', and to the effects of 'the wanton and injurious hands of the vulgar'.[19]

Most of the available information on furniture at Gordon Castle comes from inventories made up on the deaths of various members of the family, the earliest dating from 1648. George, 1st duke of Gordon, died in the Citadel of Leith, and no inventory of the contents of Gordon Castle survives. However, there are two very detailed inventories, made after the deaths of Alexander and Cosmo George, dating from 1730[20] and 1753,[21] which give an excellent picture of the furniture in the castle. Both inventories give the values of the individual pieces, though these are probably on the low side: the totals are £1557 in 1730 and about £1700 in 1753.

The furniture listed in these two inventories includes both fashionable, modern or older heirloom articles, and cheaper, solider pieces made by the local craftsmen. Fashionable furniture was imported, from the south or abroad, and it was influenced by the furniture brought from

the continent after the Restoration, mainly from France or Holland. New techniques and woods, particularly walnut and later mahogany, were increasingly used by craftsmen in the larger towns, though not by local workers who continued to produce plain fir and wainscot pieces for everyday use. This new, fashionable furniture was only beginning to reach Scotland by the end of the 17th century. The Breadalbanes and the Marchmonts were among the families who imported these pieces, though there are a few at Gordon Castle. They include a japanned cabinet with crystal doors, joined in four pieces, on a gilded standard, two fine veneered chairs covered in silk, a fine indented cabinet, a six leaved Indian screen and a walnut bureau bookcase, which are all listed in the inventory of 1730, and show that the new imported furniture had reached Gordon Castle by 1728, when Alexander died. Similarly at Aboyne in 1735, the furniture includes a japanned corner cupboard, a japanned clock, two six leaved screens and 31 cane chairs; and in the Hamilton apartments at Holyrood in 1722 there were cane chairs, a veneered walnut cabinet with drawers below, and a folding cedar table.

These expensive pieces were among the inherited furniture called 'heirship moveables'.[22] Cosmo George's inherited pieces are listed in table 5.[23] This furniture includes a veneered cabinet with two glasses, a marble table, a spinet,[24] a walnut clock, a fine bed with scarlet hangings and the appropriate curtains, linen and blankets, with some matching chairs and stools, and a charter chest. But apart from these listed pieces there were not many expensive items at Gordon Castle in 1728. There are only two mahogany pieces, both tables, though there is a good deal of walnut, and most of the other furniture is oak and fir.

Occasional pieces are mentioned in unusual woods, including cypress, gean, ash, beech and plum. At Aboyne, the furniture was mostly wainscot, with two or three mahogany tables, some walnut pieces, several plane tree tables and a beech cabinet.[25] Similarly at Broxmouth in 1734, the Countess of Roxburghe's furniture included items made of gean, walnut, elm and maple,[26] while Lord Annandale's furniture at Craigiehall was mostly of fir and wainscot, with odd pieces in olive wood, cedar and walnut.[27]

Cosmo George's subsequent purchases for Gordon Castle were mostly of mahogany, and they appear in the inventory of 1753, in the shape of tables, armchairs, corner cupboards and stands. Most of the common furniture is still of oak, fir and wainscot, and much of it is described as old, much broken or worn. The Gordons were not careful with their possessions, and most of Cosmo George's purchases were for his London house or Huntly Lodge.

Apart from the inventories, there are also some accounts for the furniture bought. The plain furniture was made locally by three wrights in Fochabers, whose accounts mention tables, presses, chairs and billiard clubs. These items are practical pieces, but there are a few accounts for furniture due to Alexander Rose, cabinet maker in Ellon, which are very unusual.[28] In 1741, he was supplying Gordon Castle with veneered mahogany furniture. In that year, the duke bought mahogany claw foot washing stands, scalloped mahogany teaboards and mahogany corner boxes made in the solid. In the following year, Rose sold the duke a mahogany card table, with a chessboard and backgammon carved in the fret, covered with blue velvet, which cost 5 guineas.

Other articles from Rose included a mahogany bedroom table, with a box and folding top, walnut armchairs, and a most elaborate mahogany chair for reading and writing, with jointed arms, drawers, folding top and table, castors, stuffed in the seat and covered with black leather.

Rose was an exception however, and all the other fashionable furniture was imported from Edinburgh or London. When Cosmo George was in Edinburgh in 1738, he bought several items for Gordon Castle, including walnut chairs from Alexander Peter, wright, costing 25s each.[29] They were elaborately carved, the feet in the form of an eagle's claw and ball, clam shells on the knees, oval seats and small backs. On the same occasion, Cosmo George bought some much cheaper chairs from William McVey at 8s 6d each.[30] Other Edinburgh wrights patronised include Francis Brodie, whose combined bill and tradecard gives details of the furniture he sold.[31] Cosmo George bought some expensive pieces including a marble table supported by a gilt eagle which cost the huge sum of £16, with 15s 4d for packing it up, and another 18s for a red leather cover. Most of the furniture supplied by Brodie was of mahogany, but there was also a French walnut desk with dressingbox and glass at 7 guineas. The duke was not satisfied with the charter chest he had inherited, for he commissioned another from Brodie: it was of solid mahogany, with carved feet and drawers, and cost £5 10s.

Furniture for Gordon Castle was also bought in London, though more by Henrietta than by Cosmo George. Her purchases include eight walnut chairs, bought in 1723, for which she then embroidered seats, and a very elaborate set of furniture, of bedstead and matching chairs, from S. Jones.[32] The total was £36 18s 6d, but Henrietta, whose reputation

as a good business woman is probably well founded, succeeded in getting a deduction of £2 14s 4d. In similar circumstances Lady Grisel Baillie was pleased when she bought furniture in Edinburgh in 1715, and as a result of the size of her order was given four little stools, as she noted with satisfaction, 'into the bargon'.[33]

When John, lord Glenorchy, later 3rd earl of Breadalbane, bought furniture in Scotland, it usually came from James Runciman, wright in Edinburgh. However it cannot have been successful, for he once wrote to a friend, 'I'm sure all that I ever had made at Edinburgh is abominable, for which reason I shall always bring everything from London, and lay out the little money I spend with people who deserve it'.[34] In 1750, for instance, Glenorchy bought various articles in London for Taymouth, including statues from John Cheere, a perpetual oven, spades, locks and measures, and various items for his barge.

As comparisons to the furniture at Gordon Castle, three other inventories of furniture have been taken: Redbraes in 1725,[35] Tyninghame in 1735,[36] and Taymouth in 1755.[37]

Redbraes was the home of the Marchmont family until Hugh, 3rd earl of Marchmont, built the new Marchmont house nearby. The house contained less furniture than the others, but it is more interesting, for Alexander, 2nd earl, had been ambassador at Copenhagen and attended the Congress of Cambrai, and came home with a collection of pictures and napery, and some new ideas.

The Tyninghame inventory was made up on the death of Thomas, 6th earl of Haddington, in 1733. The furniture is not described very fully, and, though there is a good deal of it, the effect sounds rather dull.

John, 3rd earl of Breadalbane, rebuilt parts of Taymouth and refurbished it extensively on the death of his father in 1751. The contents were almost entirely replaced with articles bought in London.

In table 6, each entry gives the total number of each class of furniture (that is, chairs, tables etc.) in each house, and then lists the individual pieces or varieties, when these are given in the various inventories. Sometimes they match quite well, as with chairs, and direct comparisons are possible. But they are not always reliable, for, while it is certain that there were 177 chairs at Gordon Castle in 1730, and 149 in 1753, it is not possible to say that they were the same chairs. Nor is it feasible to tabulate the various kinds of chair, apart from plain chair and armed chair or easy chair, for what may appear to one valuer as a walnut armed chair in 1730, may seem twenty years later to another eye to be an old broken chair, or even trash in the garret not worth valuing.

From this table, Gordon Castle contained about as much furniture as Tyninghame, more than Redbraes and less than Taymouth. However, much of the Gordon Castle furniture is described as worn or broken, and it is definitely lacking in such comforts as armchairs, bed and window curtains and carpets. Much of the furniture also sounds fairly basic, such as the 59 hair chairs, plaids instead of bedcoverings, and the fact that four out of the eleven armchairs are old or broken.

The furniture at Redbraes is more interesting, though as the inventory arranges it in categories, not by rooms as the other inventories do, it is not possible to say where the various articles stood. Many of the pieces are imported: these elaborate items include a fine inlaid cabinet

with large looking glasses, dressingtable, table and two stands, all matching, and two similar sets of inlaid tables, looking glasses and stands, a black and gold japanned table also with looking glass and stand, six marble tables, a most unusual bureau table with no less than 20 drawers, two Paris night tables, and 13 Berlin card tables, as well as other tables of cedar, mahogany and walnut. Cane furniture includes 22 chairs and a couch.

The furniture at Tyninghame is not specified in such detail. Imported pieces include a walnut writing table, various veneered chests of drawers, walnut armchairs, mahogany tables and a marble table, a walnut escritoire with mirrors and some cane chairs.

At Taymouth, most of the furniture was new. There is a good deal of mahogany, mostly various tables (dining, side, card and night), as well as chairs and stands. Walnut is much less in evidence. There are the standard marble tables on carved and gilt frames, and to show that no expense was spared, even some of the bedsteads are of mahogany.

When looking at the furniture room by room, one of the most striking features is the amount in most of the rooms. The rooms at Gordon Castle all held an enormous number of pieces, and from the surviving original tower it seems that the rooms were quite small. As most of the rooms at Gordon Castle are identifiable on both inventories, a direct comparison of furnishings is sometimes possible.

Beginning with the diningroom furniture, there were two dining-rooms, high and low. In 1730, the high room held the only two pieces of mahogany in the castle, two dining tables, along with a folding sideboard table and a little oak table. In 1753, the mahogany tables are still there,

but the sideboard has been replaced by a fashionable marble table. There were 12 chairs in both inventories. The low room also contained 18 chairs and 2 tables in 1730, but by 1753 the tables have been replaced by new mahogany ones and there are now 29 chairs. Similarly at Tyninghame and Taymouth, there were two mahogany tables in both diningrooms, and at Tyninghame 19 chairs and at Taymouth 18. There were family portraits on the walls in all three houses.

The drawingrooms at Gordon Castle were also called the high and low rooms. Both were lined with arras in 1730, and this survives in the low room though it was replaced with wallpaper in the high drawingroom. The low drawingroom was formally and elaborately furnished in 1730, with a chimney glass and brass sconces as well as another veneered looking glass also with sconces, the three windows hung with yellow hangings, and ornamented with five copper statues, the Foggini bust of the grand duke of Tuscany,[38] a silverised hearse or candelabrum, and a variety of pictures. By 1753 the furniture has been brought up to date, there is some mahogany, the chairs are covered in turkey carpet silk work and the settee in green damask; the hearse is still there, but there is now a Wilton carpet and the curtains are orange. The high drawingroom was equally formally furnished in 1730, with two japanned pieces, chairs covered in needlework, a tea table and chimney glass. By 1753, the two japanned pieces are still there though one piece is now broken in several places, but the rest of the furniture is new. The room now contains the marble table supported by a gilt eagle bought by Cosmo George in Edinburgh, 12 chairs covered in flowered silk, a card table, tea tables, some prints, a Wilton carpet and picture of Dutchmen

banqueting. The Breadalbane drawingroom is rather drearily furnished with arras, green silk and worsted curtains matching the chair coverings on the three windows, two gilt looking glasses and two marble tables. At Tyninghame, the drawingroom was also hung with arras, and the two windows were hung with yellow curtains. The rest of the furniture included 12 common rush bottomed chairs, two tables and a carpet. The drawingroom of the dowager countess of Findlater at Banff was more comfortably furnished with ten chairs, a sofa, an Indian japanned table and a card table, along with a quantity of prints and drawings.

All the houses had a library, or sometimes two, which contained some unusual items. At Gordon Castle in 1730, the room held two telescopes and an old terrestrial globe, as well as a small oval cypress table on a fir stand. By 1753, there is only one telescope, now described as much out of order, but there is now a new pair of globes and a camera obscura.[20] The Taymouth library also contained two globes, here specified as having wainscot frames and leather covers, and a useful mahogany table with a shelf below for holding books. The Tyninghame library held a reflecting telescope, and elsewhere in the house there was a 4 foot telescope and a theodolite. The books are described in a separate section.

Hall furniture is uniformly dull. At Taymouth the hall contained a clock and five wooden armchairs, and at Tyninghame there was an eight day clock, a table and two chairs. The hall at Gordon Castle contained only a glass lantern in 1753, and the room was not even mentioned in 1730.

Apart from the rooms already described, and usually the kitchen

premises, nearly all the other rooms contained at least one bed. This was the most important single piece of furniture, and people were expected to sleep in almost any room, or even a passage or the laundry.

In a small room, a four-post bedstead, with curtains and tester, blankets, quilts and pillows, would not leave much room for anything else, but the grander rooms also contained sets of chairs and footstools, upholstered to match the bed hangings. The scarlet bedchamber at Gordon Castle contained all this as well as a fire screen, chimney glass, an indented Indian table and arras hangings. Two more matching chairs and two footstools had been moved, possibly for lack of space, into the adjoining dressingroom where they clashed with a yellow tent bed.

Beds varied, depending on the rank of the occupant. Stand or stoup beds were four posters, and tent beds were of a similar design. Fixed and box beds were joined to the wall, the latter being built in like a cupboard with a door. Less substantial beds could be moved during the day, and these are described as folding, turn up, putting up, or used as a seat, such as chair or resting beds. Only the family and upper servants could be sure of having bed curtains: servants often slept in old stand beds without curtains: this was at Gordon Castle, for Tyninghame and Taymouth have a much higher proportion of beds with curtains. The most elaborate bed at Gordon Castle was the scarlet one already described, which had belonged to Alexander. Cosmo George's bed was of beechwood with blue hangings, and his room also contained two other beds, one of fir with yellow hangings, and a chairbed with cushions. Katherine's room held a crimson damask worsted bed with six chairs and two stools covered to match, a japanned clothes chest and a French carpet.

All these beds had large quantities of blankets and plaids, the numbers diminishing as one moved down the social scale. The duke's bed had a fine feather quilt, bolster, two pillows, four pairs of scots blankets and an English blanket. The butler's bed contained a cover, featherbed, bolster, pillow, four pairs of old blankets and old hangings. The five chambermaids shared two very old beds and a boxbed, with two old featherbeds and nine pairs of old blankets between them. The men servants slept above the stables, where they shared three old boxbeds, with old featherbeds and torn blankets in one room, and two old stoup beds without curtains, featherbeds, bolsters, four pairs of plaids and a covering, in the room above.

By 1753 the number of beds at Gordon Castle had dropped from 49 to 37. Taymouth had 46 beds in 1755; here the number has risen, for in 1712 there were only 23 bedsteads, one boxbed, one folding bed, one close bed, two resting beds and a sleeping chair, that is, 29 beds in all. However, this earlier inventory has a note which explains the scarcity - two little featherbeds for gentlemen's men when they lie by their masters. Thirty years later, in 1742, John, lord Glenorchy, when discussing the accommodation at Holyrood, decided that some of the men servants were to sleep in press or table beds, either in closets or with their employers. Jack, his son, then aged between five and eleven, was sharing a bed with his mother's woman in the diningroom, while George, the elder boy, was sharing a room, though not a bed, with his tutor.

At Taymouth the bedrooms were furnished very brightly. Lady Breadalbane's room was garishly decorated with crimson and black

striped bed curtains, lined with white satin, with five matching arm-chairs, and crimson harratine hangings on the walls and window curtains. The effect sounds lurid, but it was admired, for the same colour scheme is repeated in four other bedrooms. The colours at Tyninghame were carefully matched, with bed and window hangings of the same material, either in plain shades of yellow, olive or white, or striped and two colour combinations of red and white, green and white, and blue and white. The velvet room was attractively furnished with a black sewed velvet bed and two quilts, one white damask and the other yellow, the windows with matching white damask curtains and window seats, six chairs matching the bed, a white satinet embroidered fire screen and an easy chair.

Nursery furniture was usually very plain. In 1730, Cosmo George's room held two bedsteads, both with curtains, as well as a chairbed, six old fashioned chairs to match one of the beds, an old fashioned square looking glass, an old table and a picture 'both good for little', with a small trunk in the closet. In 1739, the nursery contained an old bed, an old firescreen, a folding table, two chairs and four fir stools. By 1743, there were two chairs for children and a cracked mirror. Four years later, the room now has window curtains, and the children's chairs are still there, and the mirror is still broken. Most of Cosmo George's adult life was spent in England, so the nursery at Gordon Castle was little used. At Tyninghame, the nursery held three beds, all with curtains, as well as a boxbed, two tables and six chairs. There was no nursery at Taymouth, for there was only one child still alive, and he had a well furnished room to himself.

Kitchen furnishings varied enormously, and they do not appear in all the inventories. They all contained a variety of implements, ranging from the primitive to the latest London inventions, and a succession of stillrooms, laundries, sculleries, store rooms, pantries and outhouses. Table 7 shows what was in the Gordon Castle kitchen in 1730 and 1753, compared with the kitchen furnishings at Redbraes in 1724 and 1725, the year the Earl of Marchmont replenished his kitchen 'battery', Banff in 1780, Tyninghame in 1735 and Hopetoun in 1762.[40]

For 1725 the Redbraes kitchen is extremely well equipped with the very latest items, and it contains every conceivable kind of pan and kitchen implement. The kitchen held two grates, while at Tyninghame, the cooking was done on a large iron grate with two raxes, and four more grates let into the wall. Meat was cooked on spits and an iron jack. The Banff kitchen is well furnished, though old fashioned, as it contains nothing that was not at Redbraes nearly 60 years earlier. The Hopetoun kitchen is the best equipped in 1762, for the Countess had just stocked it with a variety of pots, pans, cooking implements and utensils. There are some very specialised pieces of equipment mentioned, including a necromancer, which was a pan with a cover for stewing fowls, crocant pans (for making pastry tarts filled with sweetmeats), pulpatoon pans for pies with forcemeat crusts and barigoule pans, for preparing artichokes or beef olives. These were of copper. In comparison, the Gordon Castle kitchen is miserably furnished, especially in 1730. It had improved by 1753, but the contents are still fairly primitive.

The silver at Gordon Castle is listed in 1730 and valued, at 5s 5d the ounce, at £771. The only other comparable list is that of the silver

at Tyninghame five years later, where the value, at 5s the ounce, is £470.[41] Allowing about £50 for the difference in value, there is still a good deal more at Gordon Castle, though as the dates and makers of the pieces are not given, it is not possible to evaluate it. The following table (8), gives the details of silver at Gordon Castle and Tyninghame. The former does not mention silver gilt, and has more dishes, candlesticks and cups, but less cutlery and no menteith. The trumpet is probably the hearing trumpet bought for the first duke.

A library was an essential adjunct to any gentleman or nobleman's house; from it, books were provided for his education in youth, amusement in middle life, and edification in old age. It was also useful for entertaining visitors, lending round the neighbourhood, and could supply an answer to practical questions on farriery, agriculture or cookery. As a status symbol it was also effective; the surviving libraries of the eighteenth century still on their shelves today - such as Mellerstain - give a very impressive picture of an age of leisured reading.

Such inherited libraries develop over the generations according to the taste of the reigning owner. One generation may pride itself on its classical learning and the books will show this, while the next holder may be severely practical and concentrate on agricultural treatises and the library will languish. In this, such libraries contrast with the library formed by one man, which is a representation of his taste alone, such as William Drummond of Hawthornden,[42] or Charles Hamilton-Gordon, advocate;[43] one chosen from the most consciously elevated tastes, and the other almost entirely composed of the books used in his profession.

Personal libraries show what the owner probably really did read, but this is more difficult with an inherited library, which may be composed of what ought to have been read rather than of what actually was. A volume of Aristotle, once painfully memorised in youth, is likely to remain unread on the shelf for another generation, while a novel may be read once or twice by the owner, but it will be read by the rest of the household, lent round the neighbourhood, and then possibly discarded. The fashion for snuff taking demanded snuff papers, and when paper was expensive, old books tended to be used for this purpose. Cosmo George's librarian actually catalogued some items as 'fit only for snuff papers', which gives another reason why some ephemeral works have not survived.

The library at Gordon Castle is an excellent specimen of its kind. All the first three Gordon dukes were interested in books, as was Henrietta too, and they all chose their books personally on a wide range of subjects. Here the generations can be shown to differ in their tastes and attitudes by their purchases of books. The late seventeenth century ones are mainly French and Dutch, many of them being Catholic theology, befitting a duke who remained stoutly Catholic, in spite of many attempts to convert him. His military training is also shown by the number of books on fortifications, and the French education by a lot of improving French literature, and what appears to be the complete works of Francois Malbranche, who was the duke's governor for five years. The duke himself translated his Conversations concerning death into English in 1711.

Alexander was the most literate of the three, and his tastes in books reflect this, with a varied selection of foreign literature,

mostly French, with some Italian and German, and a good deal of modern historical writers such as Burnett, Strada, Varillas and Sir John Dalrymple. Both dukes were widely travelled and there is a good selection of works on travel and topography both British and continental.

Cosmo George's tastes were more traditional; he did not have the individuality and intelligence of his father and grandfather, and his reading was Protestant orthodox. His studies in the Low Countries resulted in a lot of legal works such as Puffendorff, Grotius and Otto, while his other purchases abroad tended to be large folios with plates, the expected reading of a gentleman of leisure, bought mainly with an eye to display on his library shelves, more than eagerly desired volumes to be read and carried round in a pocket. At home, the duke's purchases were on the whole books published in London, and a lesser number in Edinburgh. This contrasts with his predecessors, most of whose books were published abroad, and probably bought there. During the seventeenth century, the main centres of book publishing were still on the continent; London's importance was only beginning, and most of the valuable and interesting books produced had to be imported at a cost. This accounts for the habit of returning travellers bringing their purchases with them, for the same volume could be bought in Paris at a much lower price than in London. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, the London booksellers were selling more of what was printed at home- the growth of a popular literature meant that more London printed books were actually bought and the emphasis on the classics was less; these were now printed in England too, often in translation. Edinburgh was to a much lesser extent, a centre of publication for books on Scots law

only; not till the second half of the eighteenth century were books generally produced on popular subjects, usually pirated from the English editions.

Most of Cosmo George's books were bought when he was living in London, and in a position to look in at the bookshops and see what was new. The three London booksellers usually patronised by him were John Brindley, Robert Dodsley and Andrew Miller. The items supplied by the first two amount together to less than £60, and consist of pamphlets and other ephemera along with stationery. Pamphlets were sold unbound, so that the customer could either have them bound as he wished, if he considered that they were worth binding, or leave them as they were, to be bound together at a later date. These two accounts are insignificant when compared with the third, that of Andrew Miller, whose accounts, during the years 1736-40, amount to over £200. There are not very many titles, but the books bought were very expensive. Between June and December 1737, Cosmo George managed to produce a bill for £130. The books bought included Bundy's Roman History at 8 guineas for the six volumes; Montfaucon's Antiquities, fifteen volumes bound in seven, gilt, at the same price; two of Anderson's works - the Diplomata Scotiae at 3 guineas, and his Collections relating to Mary, queen of Scots, at £2 10s for four volumes, large paper, gilt; and Clarke's Caesar, bound in morocco at 12 guineas. Occasionally the duke changed his mind about a purchase, and returned it: his rejects include an enormously expensive import, Medailles de Louis de Grand, at 10 guineas.

Once bought, most of the books were taken or sent to Gordon

Castle to be placed in the library. There are two relevant catalogues, one made after Alexander's death, in 1729,[44] and one after Cosmo George's, in 1754.[45] The first is an excellent production of an anonymous cataloguer, possibly William Dean, the duke's valet, who wrote out the list. In it the books are arranged without individual press-marks, in a vague subject arrangement - the sections being 'libri historici', 'ecclesiastica', 'grammatice et poetae', and 'politici, scientiae et artes', these classes being capable of being stretched by an enterprising cataloguer as required. Within these sections the books are listed as folios, quartos, octavos and duodecimos. There are no numbers for individual books, and as the arrangement appears to be a haphazard one, neither alphabetical nor chronological, it must have been difficult to locate any one book among the 1828 others. This is the number of titles, not individual volumes, of which there were many more, as a lot of works were produced in several volumes or more, such as the 22 volumes of Henry's History, and a gazetteer in 14.

What really distinguishes this library from others is the ecclesiastical section; as the chief support of Catholicism in Scotland, the Gordons had a suitable amount of Catholic writings on their shelves; what protestant refutations there were in the library being treated as history, not ecclesiastical. The grammatical and poetical section is as wild a mixture as its title suggests, and also includes the classics as well as a series of dictionaries, the languages represented being English, German, French, Spanish, Latin and Greek. The last section contains the books which were the most practical, the subjects including farriery, philosophy, parliamentary history, military fortifications,

heraldry, medicine, cookery, mathematics, antiquities, novels and dentistry.

Most of these volumes were kept in the big library. However, by 1729 there were too many books to fit into this room, and some of them had already overflowed into the little library, where they were listed under the same headings.

The vast proportion of this library naturally belongs to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There are a few sixteenth century productions, but no incunables. Most of the early works are Italian or French, the earliest volume being a Latin translation of the works of Euripides, published at Basle in 1502. All the sixteenth century volumes were considered to be old and useless, and were relegated to the little library, except a Tacitus of 1598.

This catalogue has many defects from the point of identifying the books, but it is exceptional in that the titles are usually given correctly in the original language, and, in most, cases, also the dates and places of publication.

Alexander does not appear to have employed a librarian; he certainly did not pay anyone in this capacity, but Cosmo George employed a 'librarykeeper', Archibald Anderson. He and the duke together drew up a list of books in the duke's closet in the summer of 1736.[46] This list was mostly written out by the duke himself, and he makes an indifferent cataloguer, for the places of publication and the dates are never mentioned. Still, he is the only Gordon duke on record to have been sufficiently interested in his possessions to list his books himself. There were 562 books in his closet, and they are a miscellaneous lot. Much

of the list is composed of useful works, forcibly studied by the duke, such as a spelling dictionary, grammars in Latin, French, Greek, Dutch, Flemish and Italian, as well as Colin McLaurin's treatise on algebra. Other necessary works to complete the education of a nobleman intended to shine in the polite world included a treatise on dancing, 'the art of pleasing in conversation', 'the gentleman's recreation', and 'reflections upon our common failings, by a person of honour'. For entertainment, there were collections of riddles, Scots proverbs and books on palmistry and oracles, while the duke's amusements can be guessed at once from the books on the management of horses, gardening, gambling and angling. There are novels for filling in a rainy day - Don Quixote, Roxana and Pamela among them. Less explicable are Howard's Cookery, a history of witchcraft, and 'the art of engaging the affection of wives to their husbands', this last production being quite five years before the duke was to have any use for it.

On Cosmo George's death, Anderson drew up another catalogue in 1754. By then the number of books in the library is about 2292 or a little less. It is impossible to be precise, for in making up the 1754 catalogue, Anderson utilised the earlier list, and by then some of the books had been moved back into the main library and were also counted there. This is only an increase of about 400 books; during his lifetime, the duke bought considerably more than this, but the discrepancy is unaccountable.[47]

Anderson was clearly a character, as well as being well read and interested in his work, but his catalogue has several fatal flaws - he does not list the actual titles of the books, and he translates foreign

ones into English, usually in an unrecognisable and abbreviated form. This is always the case when he does not approve of a book in particular or has objections to its subject, his own principles being firmly Protestant and being very unwilling to believe any good of Catholics or their writings. When he did not think much of a book he said so. Such descriptions as 'dialogue in french on the tragedies of the time; useless', 'a book of various subjects that nobody can give a title of, and all not worth a fig', or 'a collection of various pieces on various subjects, bound together, a book of little value and old', are indeed entertaining, but cannot be considered as a help towards identifying the volumes in question. Such comments as 'worth nothing', 'not worth a pin', (or a fig), or 'these last five books are not worth a farthing', or even an explanation that the last eleven books listed 'have only been put in to make up the number', are interesting as showing Anderson's principles and tastes, but are certainly out of place in a library catalogue. Sometimes, he gave his rather grudging approval: 'a collection of many ancient writers about war, a very thick book and not despicable' or 'a curious piece bound in blue plush', but these are much less frequent.

Anderson did not follow his predecessor's subject arrangement, but listed the books merely according to position and size. One point in his favour, he does give the titles individual numbers, and presumably the volumes were labelled to match. The newer and what was then considered to be the most valuable portion of the library was placed in the big library, with the older discarded items in the closet; there were about 1500 in the big library, 250 in the closet, and 300 older books also there. There were also some imperfect books, some lent and never

returned, and some stolen by the Jacobites when Gordon Castle was occupied in 1746.[48]

Many of the books listed are also in the 1729 inventory, and are more readily identifiable from this. Along with the previous collection there was what Cosmo George had bought, which was more valued by Anderson than the earlier productions. Among the latter is a copy of Plutarch's Lives published in 1562, described disparagingly by Anderson as 'a fine copy but old language', and 'the old Rhenish version of the New Testament in a kind of English, in bad case like the language is'. Anderson had no sympathy with anyone who could not write modern English.

What was added by Cosmo George is either what he bought when studying abroad, or when in London. Edinburgh booksellers are also patronised, but to a lesser extent. All the duke's law books appear, with his interlineations upon them, as Anderson notes. A good deal of lighter reading has crept in since the last catalogue. Hoyle is well represented by his treatises on whist, quadrille, picquet and backgammon, and there are other works which show the duke's youthful infatuation for games of chance. Novels now appear in larger quantities. There are still few Edinburgh publications, apart from legal works, but there are two of Allan Ramsay's productions and some topographical works. Anderson's nationalist tendencies are shown in a comment on an anonymous work, by William Atwood, 'the superiority and direct dominion of the imperial crown of England over Scotland', for he notes indignantly 'he's a damned liar' beside the entry.

It is difficult to find a good comparison for this library, for

contemporary library catalogues are hard to find. There are rather inadequate catalogues for the libraries at Castle Grant and Cullen, which are the most useful ones to compare with Gordon Castle. The Castle Grant catalogue is undated, probably about 1769.[49] It is a much smaller library, containing only about 650 titles, and has a subject arrangement, under the headings, republics, architecture, agriculture and gardening, trade and commerce, criticism, poetry, plays, romances and novels, letters, miscellanies, pamphlets, magazines and music, arranged within these categories according to size. This is a sensible arrangement, apart from the lack of individual pressmarks, and the unknown cataloguer usually gives both dates and places of publication. Sometimes his classification fails, and the same work appears under two different headings, or under an obviously unsuitable one, but on the whole it seems a workable scheme.

An incomplete catalogue for the Cullen library[50] lists the books kept in the factor's room, 410 titles in all, of which 74 are folios kept in a cupboard underneath the rest, and another 60 old unlisted folios in a press in the closet, dismissed by the cataloguer as old Latin and not worth the trouble of making an inventory. This catalogue is much less helpful than any of the others, for it rarely bothers with such inessentials as authors, and never with dates or places of publication. Most of the books are religious ones of varying denominations, including such diverse authors as Calderwood, Archbishop Usher, Cardinal Bellarmine and Antoinette de Bourignan.

Another better documented library is that of Charles Hamilton-Gordon, advocate in Edinburgh.[51] This is composed of his legal books

used in his profession, bought for use. This explains why so much of it was published in Edinburgh, the centre of publication for books on Scots law. Most of the books were bought, new or secondhand, from a local bookseller, for there is little early material, the first work being the Leges Longobardorum, published in Paris in 1512. Apart from business, there is little to suggest that the man read in his spare time; an anonymous novel, a history of Scotland and a book on the art of painting, being about all that he possessed.

These library catalogues show what actually reposed on the shelves, but do not indicate what the owners and their friends actually took away to read. What was appreciated in Edinburgh a few years later is shown by the catalogue of a lending library owned by William Gray, bookseller in the Exchange, for 1758.[52] Books 'tend to inform the mind, improve the heart and regulate the conduct of life', he explained defensively, to justify why the novels predominated in his list among the histories, moral essays and monthly magazines. The greater part was composed of duodecimos, mainly novels of a distinctly unimproving nature, such as Fanny Hill; Emily, or, The history of a natural daughter; The fair adultress, a novel founded on real facts; and Fanny, or, The amours of a west country lady. There is also a good deal of history, such as Amours of the empresses of the twelve Caesars. Plays are also well represented, but classics and religious works are almost nonexistent, except for a few evergreens such as Drelincourt on Death.

For those in the country who did not have access to a professional lending library, the local big house was usually the source of regular loans, for instruction or pleasure. Sir James Grant, the Duke of Buccleuch,

and, on a smaller scale, Cosmo George, were all prepared to lend their books round the neighbourhood. Sir James Grant's lending list covers the year 1715-44, and shows that most of the neighbourhood was able to borrow from him.[53] All the local lairds and their ladies appear in the list, including some of Cosmo George's borrowers as well. The lairds mainly borrowed for amusement, though Swindon on Hell is unexpectedly in demand, while the servants and factors were usually in need of instruction; the gardener naturally took books on agriculture and gardening, and the clerk took style books, but it seems odd to think of the butler reading Josephus, while the minister is eagerly working his way through seven volumes of The Turkish Spy.

The borrowing book for Dalkeith House is later, covering the years 1795-1832.[54] An analysis of the volumes borrowed 1806-7 shows that, as might be expected, fiction is an easy winner, followed by history and biography, memoirs and letters, and travel and topography all more or less even, and verse next, while classics and religion are hardly there at all. Part of the preponderance of French fiction is due to the presence of French prisoners of war, but novels are read as enthusiastically by men as women, and such works as The Romance of the Forest, Saint Margaret's Cave and The Man of Feeling are seldom on the shelf.

Cataloguers on the whole are anonymous, and Archibald Anderson is an exception; his catalogue is exasperating, but it does show an individual personality lacking in any other list. Usually the method used and the reasons for listing the books in any particular way are unknown, but, when Alexander Milne made a catalogue of the library at

Castle Grant in 1832 he left a note for the owner indicating the principles he had followed.[55] It was the usual subject arrangement, split up into various presses, sometimes overflowing into the next press when there was no more room. The overflow was eventually put into the closet, and then, when the cataloguer's ingenuity gave out, he was forced to confess that there was a parcel of newspapers, atlases and maps on the floor of the library itself, 'as I know of no place to put them in'. This is a common plaint through the ages.

The Gordon Castle library has been dispersed, and only one or two books survive along with the muniments. Henrietta was certainly particular about the appearance of her books, and, when ordering them from Edinburgh, she was careful to specify that they should be bound in calves' leather and gilt on the back, with the title on red leather as usual. One of her books which has survived is Halstead's Succinct Genealogies, London 1695, which was bought by Henrietta as countess (or marchioness) of Huntly. It is in good condition, bound in calf, gilt lettered with the royal arms on the cover.[56]

In table 7 an attempt has been made to compare the various places of publication of the books at Gordon Castle in 1729 and 1754, along with those at Castle Grant in 1769 and those belonging to Charles Hamilton-Gordon in 1762. This list is not accurate, for many of the books, especially in the 1754 list, lack dates and places of publication, but as the actual libraries have not survived it is the best that can be done now.

The proportion of books in each library with places and dates, compared with those which have not, is as follows: Castle Grant,

nine tenths; Hamilton-Gordon, nine tenths; Gordon Castle 1729, seven tenths; and Gordon Castle 1754, four tenths. From this it can be seen that the 1754 Gordon Castle list specifies less than half the contents of the library adequately. This makes the catalogue much less valuable than the earlier one. As, however, it is all there is in the way of a list of Cosmo George's books, it is given along with the others, with the dates in the last column. These show that the bulk of the library dates from the second half of the seventeenth century.

This 1754 catalogue and its omissions account for the oddities in the numbers of books published at various places, when compared with the 1729 list. There is no record of any books being sold, so probably all the ones mentioned in 1729 are still there in 1754.

The main places of publication in the 17th century are well represented, with 16th century books published at Antwerp, Basle, Casal, Frankfurt, Heidelburg, Lyons, Paris and Venice. Most of the places are readily identifiable, except Amberes, Caseres and the contraction Hib. These may be Amberg, Castres and unspecified Irish. The 18th century books show the growing importance of London as a publishing centre, and to a lesser degree Edinburgh, particularly for legal textbooks. Unusual places of publication include Boston, Glasgow, Newcastle and York.

Most Scottish houses contained a selection of family portraits and little else in the way of pictures. Few Scottish peers in the first half of the century showed much interest in the arts, and apart from recording themselves and their families and sometimes their houses for posterity, they did not buy many pictures. The occasional peer, such

as the second marquess of Annandale, and later on some of the Hopetouns and Grants, did buy pictures, some of them abroad, but this was unusual. Alexander, second duke of Gordon, was the only member of the Gordon family to buy pictures as distinct from portraits.

At Gordon Castle in 1753, 44 out of the 73 specified pictures were family portraits, and at Redbraes in 1725, the numbers were 113 out of 154, at Taymouth, 79 out of 103 in 1679 and 23 out of 27 in 1755, and at Tyninghame, 69 out of 85.

The Gordon Castle portraits were mostly commissioned by Alexander or Cosmo George, but there were also some earlier ones. These included George, first marquess of Huntly, and Henrietta Stewart, his wife; the second marquess and his wife, attributed to Jamesone,[51] and Lewis, third marquess, apparently by Aikman.[58] George, first duke, is represented by two portraits in youth (Schunemann[59] and possibly John Scougal),[60] and by the much later Medina of 1707.[61] There is no portrait of Elizabeth Howard, his wife, perhaps owing to their disagreements, until Alexander, her son, commissioned John Alexander to paint her in 1724, when she was in her seventies.

Apart from these inherited portraits, most of the portraits were commissioned by Alexander and Cosmo George, either from John Alexander[62] or Philippe Mercier.[63] The former worked in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and London, and painted for the family in all three places. The earliest reference to him is in 1720, when Alexander was in London, and paid 5 guineas for an unspecified picture. The duke occasionally noted in his pocket book small payments to the painter, once 'to Mr Alexander, painter, paid most extravagent account, £10'. However, relations were

usually more cordial, and the duke sometimes presented John Alexander with small presents such as a cheese, or gave him money for a christening. Lord Annandale also knew John Alexander when in Italy, but described him disparagingly as a poor simple body.[64]

John Alexander painted between 30 and 40 of the pictures at Gordon Castle, the earliest identifiable one being Cosmo George as a baby, in 1722.[65] Later portraits included the dowager duchess (1724), the duchess (n.d.), Harriot (c.1722-4), Alexander himself (same date), Cosmo George again (1735[66] and an undated one), Betty (1736), and Charles, Lewis, Adam and Katherine (all 1738). Some of the neighbouring lairds were also painted by John Alexander for Cosmo George. Many of his letters and accounts survive, showing his charges. One such account of work done during 1722-4, which shows the varied nature of his work, and the fact that as well as painting portraits, he was also commissioned to restore, repaint and copy some of the earlier pictures at the Castle. From this account, he also taught Harriot to draw, painted a pedestal for the Foggini bust of the grand duke of Florence, designed vases for the gates, and drew a plan of the chapel. His accounts were always paid, but there was sometimes a little argument over his prices. The ceiling picture is a case of this: it is mentioned in this bill for 1722-4, but by 1726 John Alexander is still pressing for payment, and explains in a letter written from Edinburgh to the duke that the apparently high price is due to the rarity of the piece, 'My lord, your grace stair peece is indeed the only history picture I have ever painted in this cuntry, and shall referr it to your grace, though in justice to myself I can not state less, considering I bear the expence

of cloth, colours and pencills and that I came north on purpose to paint it, while in the time my house rent in this town was running on'.[67]

Apart from portraits, John Alexander occasionally painted other pictures, for he was commissioned to undertake some classical scenes to match some already done for the duke: John Alexander's pictures were to cost 56 guineas for the four, the subjects being Daphne and Apollo, Romulus and Remus, the Judgment of Paris, and a Roman nymph.

Once Cosmo George grew up, he usually patronised Philippe Mercier. They may have met in York when Cosmo George was living there, and the duke certainly bought some of Mercier's prints on that occasion. In 1749, Mercier visited Gordon Castle and painted various portraits: Susan, the duke's eldest daughter, full length, at 12 guineas; Anne Fraser of Philorth, half length, at 10 guineas; Mr Woodney, another half length, at the same price; Adam, three quarter length, at 5 guineas; Sir Robert Abercromby of Birkenbog, half length, at 10 guineas; and Lady Charlotte Murray and Mr Sanders, the same. In the following year, Mercier painted another picture for Cosmo George, as well as the undated one of the duke himself,[68] a very elegant figure, bearing little resemblance to the earlier portraits by John Alexander.

Apart from these family portraits, there were few pictures on the walls. Portraits of royalty and other notabilities were popular, especially at Taymouth, where in 1679 there were 32 pictures of kings and queens of Scotland. Gordon Castle had a smaller collection, four in 1730 and eight in 1753, and Redbraes had another four. Otherwise the pictures specified are landscape, classical or Dutch. In addition to these,

Gordon Castle had an altarpiece and five 'Indian' pictures. At Dalkeith, all the pictures specified are family portraits, except for eleven battle scenes in the dining room and two biblical heads. The first two marquesses of Annandale acquired a most unusual collection in comparison. The first marquess bought a lot of pictures in Edinburgh in 1698, the list of which unfortunately does not give the artists; however, the subjects are given, and these are unexpected: Jupiter and Pomona, three sea pieces of storm, calm and gale, a head of Erasmus, Tobit and the Angel, an odd piece of perspective, and the usual pieces of birds, hunting and still life. James, second marquess of Annandale, bought pictures while abroad: a list of his pictures made after his death by John Alexander and Andrew Hay in 1735, survives,[69] giving details of the artist, or at least the painter after whom the picture was done, mostly Dutch and Italian masters.

Alexander, duke of Gordon, also came home with pictures from his travels in Italy, and bought others, usually from Dr Kennedy when in London. Those specified are two of Roman amphitheatres and one of the remains of Nero's palace. Other pictures from Dr Kennedy included one of St Jerome at 20 guineas, an architectural piece by Ghisolfi at 10 guineas,[70] and a picture of children by Bruegal and Rottenhammer at 9 guineas.[71]

Cosmo George's purchases in London were confined to portraits. Joseph Highmore painted Alexander, lord Huntly, in 1745 at £21, with an extra £2 16s for the frame. He also sold the duke the obligatory portrait of George II on horseback at 10 guineas. A few years later, Highmore painted Cosmo George himself in his parliament robes, which cost

£42 with another 5 guineas for the frame.[72] Other portraits by Highmore include various neighbours.

Finally there is an odd receipt signed by Allan Ramsay, discharging Cosmo George of 4 guineas as the remainder due for the duke's picture, but the wording is ambiguous, for it may mean a portrait of the duke himself, or just a picture painted for him. This portrait, either of Cosmo George or a member of his family, is unknown.[73]

Apart from pictures, there was a large collection of prints at Gordon Castle. There are 316 mentioned in the 1730 inventory, and 282 in 1753. Most of the time, the cataloguer does not specify the subject, being only interested in the numbers, or occasionally the colour of the frame and whether the glass is broken. Once they are described as 'taille douce' that is, engraved on a metal plate with a graver or burin as distinguished from dry point. Usually the rooms contained only a few prints, but sometimes there was a concentration of them together: there were 68 in the Gordon Castle billiard room in 1747, while the dowager countess of Findlater had 80 in the drawingroom and another 21 in the little room next to it at Banff in 1780, and the Duchess of Hamilton at Kinneil in 1713 had 75 prints in her dressingroom and 15 pictures and 40 prints in her closet. When the subject is mentioned, it is usually topographical (country houses or cathedrals), allegorical (the seasons, classical or biblical), personal (celebrities, royalty or ecclesiastical), popular (racehorses, beauties of Hampton Court, Ranelagh or Vauxhall gardens) or reproductions of well known pictures (Marriage a la mode and Vandyke are specified). Lord Annandale's prints were sets of elements, stately homes and the triumphs of

Alexander, while at Hatton Lodge in 1773 there were sets of scripture, the seasons and the Hampton Court beauties. There were occasional odd prints: Redbraes had a facsimile of William III's last speech, while at Castle Grant in 1769 there was a print of the anatomy of the heart. The prints at Gordon Castle are hardly ever specified in any of the inventories. That of 1747 mentions the four seasons and 12 racehorses in the high drawingroom.

Plans appear occasionally. There was a screen at Gordon Castle covered with maps, while there was also a framed map of Scotland in 1730, and a plan of Blair Atholl in 1753. There was a plan of Alloa at Tyninghame, and a whole selection, though unspecified, in the Hamilton apartments in Holyroodhouse.

The various inventories show where all these items were. At Gordon Castle, most of the family portraits were concentrated in the low diningroom, which held 29 of them, with the Medina of George and his two children over the mantelpiece. In contrast, most of the pictures in the low drawingroom were of strangers, either royalties or Italian pictures - two John Alexanders (Mary, queen of Scots, and Charles XII of Sweden), Innocent XIII (sent as a present to Alexander), George II (added by the protestant Cosmo George), and the Italian pictures, two of amphitheatres, and two others - Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and Samson and Delilah, as well as the Foggini bust.[74] The high drawingroom contained another eight of the John Alexander portraits, a Dutch 'banket' in a gilt frame as well as 'a great many prints', unspecified, and the plan of Blair Atholl. In contrast the high diningroom was hung with tapestry, so there was only room for

the John Alexander of Gordon Castle and the old town of Fochabers over the chimney, and a portrait of the Abbe d'Aubigne, presumably over the door. The library held the rest of Alexander's purchases: the St Jerome, St Katherine of Siena, St John the Evangelist, a Bacchanalian piece, 'a lady of the family of Norfolk', three small pictures on copper, and 45 small pictures, prints and drawings left unlisted by an exhausted cataloguer.

Apart from these, the altarpiece of the Resurrection was in the gallery, John Alexander's ceiling picture at the head of the broad staircase,[75] and four 'Indian' pictures (probably pieces of wallpaper) at the head of the new stair. The other pictures were all in bedrooms. The scarlet bedroom, which had been Alexander's, contained the John Alexander of Henrietta and a representation of Nero's palace, and the dressingroom off it held 30 prints of popes, Roman emperors and kings of Spain. The yellow room, which was once Henrietta's, similarly held three portraits, with 31 prints in the closet, and an Indian picture over the chimney. Katherine's room, the crimson bedroom, was filled with a full length miniature of Cosmo George, the John Alexander of Harriot over the chimney, one picture of dead game and two of live birds, and two heads of English peers. Cosmo George's room, the paper room, held the two other John Alexanders, of John Hamilton and David Tulloch, and a plan.

This pattern, with most of the pictures in the public rooms or on the stairs, was followed elsewhere. At Taymouth, there were 47 unspecified pictures in the stone hall in 1712, with 19 in the dining-room, 21 in the drawingroom, 16 on the north stair, and the Glenorchy

genealogy[76] in the passage between the diningroom and the earl's room. The fact that there was arras in the diningroom and drawingroom, must indicate that either it only came so far up the walls and the pictures were hung above it, or that some of the walls were not covered. In 1679 at Taymouth the pictures were much the same, though in the yellow bedroom there were seven family pictures, five of royalty, a chimney piece depicting a scene from Ovid, and two religious pictures. Similarly the countess's bedroom held a chimney piece showing Noah's ark, with three little pictures hung above it, and two family pictures. There were then 22 pictures (or perhaps prints) on the staircase, of sybils, senses and seasons, along with two royal pictures. There were also 20 discarded pictures in the loft. By 1755, there were still 10 family pictures in the diningroom, and 12 and a chimney piece in the vestibule, but there were only four in the drawingroom, and 21 pictures had been relegated to the servants' hall.

At Dalkeith, there was a plethora of family and royal pictures, though owing to the Monmouth connection, pictures of James II and VII could be counted either as family or royalty. Here, the great staircase was filled by 16 pictures, royalty and family, with two religious pictures over the chimney and the door on the landing. The picture closet contained 69 pictures, unfortunately not specified; there were 11 battle scenes in the diningroom, 15 unspecified ladies in the great diningroom, and otherwise the pictures were royalty or family, hung over the chimney or doorway in various bedrooms and dressingrooms.

Similarly at Tyninghame, the numbers of pictures in the house are given in the 1735 inventory, but it does not descend to detail on the

whole. As at Dalkeith, the pictures are mainly hung over the chimney or door, apart from the picture closet, which contained 26 unspecified portraits, along with a Jamesone described as 'a family piece of Haddington', and a variety of others, including two plans of Gibraltar, a framed fan, a painting on alabaster, something described as a candlelight piece, a Dutch piece, five philosophers' heads on copper and a watercolour called a Dutch fancy. Otherwise, there were 21 family portraits in the large diningroom and five more in the drawingroom.

The Marchmont inventory does not specify where the pictures were hung. There were 113 family pictures, 42 prints, four of royalty, 35 pictures of Danish royalty and ambassadors dating from the second earl's residence in Copenhagen, and a picture of a dog called Mars.

There were only nine pictures at Aboyne in 1735, all of them family portraits.

The Hamilton pictures at Holyroodhouse were unusually varied, and included a variety of mythological pictures, such as naked Venuses, naked women and satyrs, women bathing and unspecified naked figures. Less pleasant pictures were one of a man skinning another man and one representing a dead body.

Most of the napery used at Gordon Castle had been spun and woven locally. This utilitarian kind of linen, plain and diaper, was used for plain or coarse items, while the fashionable damask patterns were either imported, chiefly from the Low Countries, or, by the beginning of the 18th century, they were being made around Glasgow and Edinburgh.[77] There were 12 damask looms in Hamilton by 1705. ~~The use of chemicals in bleaching was forbidden in Scotland, so that~~ linen

tended to be sent to Holland to be bleached, ~~for there was no such prohibition there.~~ though The imports were usually hampered by duty, unless they could be smuggled. When Henrietta had linen shipped from Rotterdam, Alexander's aunt, Lady Catherine Howard, was commissioned to buy linen and holland for sheets, and she managed to get them smuggled back to Scotland.[78] On another occasion Henrietta ordered 168 yards of diaper to make 14 dozen napkins, and 42 yards more of stronger diaper for 14 tablecloths, and some holland for smocks.[79] This, in 1725, seems to be the end of the Gordon imports of linen or holland; when Cosmo George was abroad he bought various pieces of holland but there are no further records of imports.[80] The new industry in Scotland was patronised in 1738, when the duke bought a suit of diaper and a tablecloth from Archibald Howie, journeyman, weaver in Edinburgh.[81]

All the rest of the linen used at Gordon Castle was produced either by the servants or spinsters in the neighbourhood. Much of it was bought ready made, but sometimes women were hired at a daily rate to spin. The wage was a penny a day. The maids were also expected to spin, and the castle contained a variety of wheels, those specified being meikle wheels, little wheels, cotton wheels and check reels.[82]

When bought by the piece, the price varied enormously depending on the quality. It was usually sold by the ell, and cost between 2d and 5s. Holland was charged at 8d the yard. Most of the weaving was done by a family called Claperton. Thomas Claperton, weaver in Fochabers, James, his son, and Peter McLauchlan, his son in law, along with an unknown Cecilia Claperton in Boguehead, all worked linen as well as a variety of other materials - plaids, both fingering and coarse, blankets,

and coarse ones for servants, coarse cloth and broadcloth, carpet and various kinds of napery. James Claperton was sometimes employed for the more elaborate patterns: lavender knot in 1746 for tablecloths, as well as carpet, and red and white check and dornick.

Usually, the more elaborate work was produced in Aberdeen, like damask patterns, and the bleaching was done at Huntly by Hugh McVeagh, and the dyeing by William Imlach in Fochabers.

Once woven, the napery had to be made up. Katherine employed four women at sewing in 1741: they made sheets, table napkins and cloths, as well as cambric napkins for the duke, washed cloths and pillowcases, and marked them with the date and a crowned 'G'.

The end product of all this industry is shown in the various inventories of linen at Gordon Castle. However, the state of the linen, from the inventory of 1730, does not sound encouraging. Much of it is stated to be half worn, more than half worn, very old, much worn, near half and two thirds worn. Things had deteriorated further by 1739, when most of the napery is described as almost useless, old, and useless, and the highest praise given is only 'tolerably sufficient'. On Cosmo George's marriage, his bride started to amend matters and new napery was made. By 1747, the inventory gives the dates of much of the napery, and apart from six pairs of holland sheets of 1720, there is nothing older than 1739, and little before 1741, the year of the duke's marriage.

Until Alexander's death in 1728, the linen was marked with 'HG', for Henrietta, duchess of Gordon, with a ducal crown and the year. From 1729 till 1741, it had a 'G', crown and year, and from 1741, it had

'KG', for Katherine, duchess of Gordon, still retaining crown and date.

In this list, some of the napery patterns are given. Those specified are the lavender knot, Dutch diaper and bird's eye. Some of the Dutch diaper gave trouble to the cataloguer, for she commented that the mark was quite worn out. Similarly, some of the sheets were all to rags, and a common diaper towel, missing and last seen in the late John Hamilton's custody, was noted gratefully as having been found and restored by Archie, the librarian.

In the inventory of napery made up on Cosmo George's death, in 1753, the prices are given, though probably on the low side, like the furniture. In addition, there was linen in the garret, pieces not yet made up, valued at £56.

These quantities are not unusual. When Sir Robert Burnett of Leys died in 1760, he owned 86 tablecloths and 34 dozen napkins. William Drummond of Grange, whose testament was recorded in 1738, also left a fine variety of linen: the patterns mentioned are five star knot, Dutch star knot, Dutch rose knot, nine diamond knot, 'bear pickle', open knot, large knot, Salton knot, and Inverkeithing borders.[83]

A more interesting selection of tablelinen comes from the Redbraes inventory, but it is unfair to compare this with the others, for most of it was bought while Alexander, second earl of Marchmont, was at Cambrai. There were 68 tablecloths, all with sets of matching napkins, of Dutch and Courtrai damask. Some of the patterns are quite ordinary, such as the bird's eye, mosaicwork, small roses, feathers and flowers, but there are others of considerable complexity, such as the cloth woven with a design of the town of Temeswaert, and Prince Eugene of

Savoy on horseback and a motto. Others included Charles, king of Spain, with his coat of arms, George I with a view of London and the Thames, and a Holy Roman Emperor, again on horseback, with motto.[84]

The Breadalbane household at Kilchurn was very badly off for napery. In 1690, there were only 12 pairs of sheets, seven tablecloths, six dozen diaper napkins and eight pillowcases. As Breadalbane only lived there intermittently, the rest of the napery was presumably brought with him from Balloch. A better contrast is afforded by the napery at Tyninghame in 1735,[85] and by that at Halkhead in 1729.[86] These, with the Gordon Castle inventory of 1753, are given in table 8. Tyninghame is an easy winner, for it has three times as many tablecloths as Gordon Castle, and twice as many napkins and towels. The tablecloths at Tyninghame vary a good deal in size, between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 yards long, and the size of sheets also varies, between 5 and 8 yards long, usually $5\frac{1}{4}$ or 6, and 2-3 breadths wide. The best sheets have accompanying under or over sheets. The Halkhead list does not go into detail, though some of the sheets date from 1685.

The quantities of linen at Aboyne in 1735 were: 41 dozen and one napkins, 20 tablecloths, 37 pairs of linen sheets, one pair of fine sheets, two pairs of tweedling sheets, four pairs of coarse harden and four single harden sheets, and 60 pillowcases. Few details are given as to pattern, apart from two sets in the bird's eye knot and one set in the heart and diamond knot. Some of the linen was old, for it had belonged to Lady Euphemia Lockhart, mother of Grace, countess of Aboyne, and the rest was made between 1724 and 1731.[87]

There was rather more linen at Hamilton in 1724, when the figures

are: 49 dozen and four napkins, 28 tablecloths, 22 pairs of holland sheets, 51 pairs of linen sheets and 18 pairs of straiken (linen made of coarse flax), with 101 pillowcases. The patterns of napkins and tablecloths are: new rose knot, striped knot, dice knot, fir tree knot, star knot, double bird's eye knot and coach wheel knot. The sheets vary in breadth between three breadths (some old Dutch holland sheets) and two breadths (other Dutch holland sheets and other unspecified old sheets). Towels are not mentioned in this list.[88]

From these comparisons, Gordon Castle comes about the middle of the list, with rather less linen than at Tyninghame and Halkhead, and considerably more than Aboyne and Hamilton.

As the only means of transport, horses played an important part in the life of any nobleman, and much care was given to their care and maintenance. Training horses in the principles of the French haute ecole was a recognised pastime for the welltodo since the publication of the Duke of Newcastle's La Methode et Invention Nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux, published at Antwerp in 1658. Alexander said himself that training and breeding horses was his chief recreation in the country. He had travelled in Italy and visited the studs there, and as a result had a manege made in the French manner at Gordon Castle, where his horses could be trained. Later, he sent John Stewart of Bogs to Nancy in Lorraine to learn French methods of training horses, and promised him the job of master of the horse on his return.[89] This post was no sinecure, and a list of his duties shows that Alexander took the care of his horses very seriously, and expected his master of horse to work hard for his £12 a year.[90] One of the Lords Rosse also left instructions

for the care of his horses, but he seemed more interested in the appearance of horses and equipage, while Alexander's notes deal with the health of the animals.

All this care was not merely bestowed on the usual type of horse, for Alexander had imported at least two Spanish horses from Italy. This was sufficiently unusual to be mentioned in a satirical poem on the Scots nobility, entitled 'Advice to a painter', which contains the lines:

> But now reserve some place for Athol's grace ...
> Near to him let his grace the Duke of Gordon stand
> For these two dukes may well go hand in hand
> And if you mount him on his Tuscan steed
> Pray leave him room to gallop off with speed.[91]

This horse was a present from the grand duke of Tuscany. Alexander described it as a fine grey barb, and went to considerable expense in getting it brought from Italy. It arrived safely in Scotland, but died soon after. Alexander wrote to the grand duke hinting for another one,[92] which was sent in 1720, and described by the grand duke's secretary as one of the finest stallions in the stables.[93] There is no record to show whether Alexander succeeded in breeding from this one, but in the list of horses in his possession at his death there is no mention of a Spanish horse or foal.

Other horses were less expensive. Alexander paid 35s for a little bay pony in 1723, and £3 15s for a pony for Cosmo George in 1724. A horse bought for Lord Peterborough in 1725 cost 10 guineas. In 1726, Alexander owned 10 or 11 saddle horses, including the Spanish horse, and nine coach horses. They were all fed on corn, between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 lippies daily, and the Spanish horse got pease as well. At Alexander's

death he left 18 horses at Gordon Castle and four at Huntly. None of them was valued very highly. There is no mention of the Spanish horse, but it may be the dark bay stallion valued at £21. Other horses included Chesterfield, called after its donor, the earl, who presented it to Alexander in 1723.

To accompany the horses, Alexander had a fine selection of saddles and what is usually described as horse furniture. An inventory of these pieces in 1720 lists a variety of pieces, mostly yellow and blue, the Gordon livery colours.[94] As well as Alexander's own, there was Henrietta's, Harriot's, the gentlemen's and grooms', and the articles used in training in the manege. Items needed for the manege included two great saddles and two demi pique saddles,[95] two pairs of stirrups, six champers,[96] a halter for the pullers,[97] a chambrier and longe,[98] and four cavesans.[99]

Cosmo George inherited an interest in the stables, but he did not breed horses, and did not lay down such stringent rules. In fact, he did not even have a master of horse. However, he was interested though not as keenly, and once, when leaving Gordon Castle for the journey to London, delayed to leave instructions with the butler in the treatment of his new mare. She was to be left in the park at grass all winter, except when there was a storm, when she was to be transferred to the wheelwrights' park, 'with a house for her to go in and out when she has a mind'.[100]

He continued the tradition of naming horses after their previous owner or donor, though none of them cost as much as Alexander's expensive imports. They were usually bought locally, but in 1738, John

Hamilton, the secretary, was sent to buy horses at Linlithgow fair. He came back with a pair of coach mares at £24 the pair, a pair of large carthorses at £16 and a smaller pair at £14. In 1749, the duke bought a pair of Zetland ponies for the two boys: Sir Andrew Mitchell got them for him from Zetland, and sent them to Philorth by sea, and then Lord Salton despatched them to Gordon Castle. They were a light bay colour, with a black 'eel' down their backs.[101] Later they were brought to Enfield for the boys to ride during the school holidays. Similarly, in 1752, Sir John Sutherland of Forse sent Lord Loudoun two Zetland shelties.

At the duke's death, there were 27 horses at Gordon Castle. They included four black work geldings, three saddle horses, a black stallion, four mares, two shelties, three mules and two blind horses.[102]

A farrier was employed to look after the horses. The medicine came from the apothecary in Fochabers along with medicine for the family and servants. The farrier also shod the horses; those named, 1743-5, are Dublin, Boyd, Strathnavar, Ball, Punch, Rob Roy, Holt, Roger, Bold, Blackbird, Betty, Essex, the Fyvie horse, Smock, the yellow York mare, Jenny, the duke's gelding and Katherine's galloway and her gray.[103] Other jobs for him included bleeding the horses and oxen, and repairing the ironwork on the saddlery.

The saddlery was still elaborate, though some of it was getting old. There was a boarskin deck, which had belonged to George, first duke, and was described as a family piece. From the 1753 list of Cosmo George's saddlery, it was scattered all over the castle.

A saddler was also employed, making and mending saddlery, and doing odd jobs round the house. Montgomery, the saddler in 1744,

mended what he called a sedan (probably some kind of go cart) for the marquess, then aged one. His successor, Patrick Grant, did the same kind of jobs, mending and cleaning saddlery and chaises. He cleaned and dressed the chaise mourir for Lady Glastirum's funeral in 1749 as well as for Cosmo George's in 1752.[104]

There were various smiths in Fochabers who worked for the family. William Gordon, who called himself a founder, was usually patronised. He was not always successful: in 1743, he made a cavesan bridle from a pattern given to him to copy, but it was not a success, and he had to alter it and make it over again. He also mended spurs.

Visitors always arrived on horseback, and their mounts were automatically fed and stabled at the duke's expense. Among those mentioned in one account are Glenbucket's horse, Gibston's nag, Drumbulg's pony, two horses of Skibo's, Lady Kinminitie's four coach mares, three ponies fowling with the duke, and two gray horses hunting with him.

Owing to a lack of good roads, coaches were not much used.[105] Henrietta had one, and accounts frequently mention disbursements to boatmen at the Spey ferry for transporting the vehicle, coach horses and servants, across and back, every time Henrietta decided to go west from Gordon Castle. At £2 scots a time, the outing was expensive. At his death, Alexander owned a chariot, a travelling chaise, a chaise mourir, two waggons, four carts and a peat cart. Cosmo George bought several coaches, the earliest in 1735, which was shipped from London to Portsoy. After that it needed several servants, seven coach horses and a cart to transport it to Gordon Castle. It was easier to get to Aberdeen, so that a coach arriving by sea there in 1743 could be driven to Gordon Castle

without difficulty, though the trip there for it and back took four days for the groom sent for the vehicle. At the duke's death, there were three chaises, an old coach and the chaise mourir left at the castle.

By the end of the 17th century, the formal garden, either French or Dutch, by then fashionable in England, was being imitated in Scotland. Plans for these gardens, at Hatton, Dalkeith, Alloa and Culross, show parterres in front of the house, edged with box, with trees laid out in parallel lines along paths, arranged to point to some landmark or show off a vista. The kitchen garden is well hidden to one side of the house, usually at a distance. Big gardens had a cascade or fountains, statuary on pedestals, a wilderness and a bowling green.

The grandiose layout planned by Lord Mar when in exile in France for his house at Alloa, shows the influence of Le Notre,[106] but these plans are unique, and the gardens at Gordon Castle are certainly unable to compete with this magnificence. Alexander, more cautious than Mar, had not been forced into exile, and used his leisure more in training horses than in drawing elaborate plans for the garden. Henrietta is credited with redesigning the gardens, and the earliest surviving plan shows a formal design which is probably hers.[107] This is of an ordinary formal garden to the south of the castle, with sheets of water and a fountain, steps up to a terrace at the south end, and then the park with trees. There were parterres on either side of the central lawn, with a summerhouse, and woods intersected with walks on either side of the parterres. The kitchen garden was to the north, in a rather windy site, with the nursery to its south. A little way to the east there was a wood with walks in it, to the south of the gallow hill. The garden remained

like this during Cosmo George's lifetime, but was remodelled by his son, who removed the formal garden and extended the park.

A rather similar design still survives at Tyninghame. There the house has a terrace to the south, with lawns and flowerbeds, while the formal garden is to the west, separated by the wilderness, which contains a bowling green. The formal garden has been laid out with a raised part at one end, giving a vista towards the Lammermuirs, a fountain in the middle, and at the south end, outside the wall, there is an apple walk with statues. A vista from the terrace in front of the house also displays the ruins of St Baldred's church.[108]

Most gardens, including Gordon Castle, had a southern aspect when possible. However, the Gordon Castle site is exceptionally windy on the south side of the Moray Firth. The garden was sheltered to a certain extent by the house, and the Laigh of Moray being fertile, the soil is good and fruit trees grew well. Owing to its site in the old bed of the Spey, the park was liable to flooding, and there were several spates in Cosmo George's lifetime.

A formal garden made no great demands on flowers, for their colours obtruded on a predominantly green landscape.[109] They were confined to small parterres before the house, and there are few bills for flowers extant. Alexander bought a few in London in 1717, those specified being crocus, double white narcissus, hyacinths, tulips and various kinds of iris. Cosmo George's purchases of flowers were always made in Edinburgh, from Robert MacClellan, and these are listed in table 11.[110] Very similar flowers were also bought by Sir James Grant for Castle Grant. Breadalbane bought a much wider variety from William

Miller in Edinburgh, and these are also listed, in table 12. They include more unusual specimens such as lily of the valley, lichnis, China aster and honeysuckle. Again, at Traquair, the bills for 1712-15 mention 51 varieties of vegetables and only three flowers - marigolds, sunflowers and cardus benedictus.

When Lord Hopetoun was replanting his garden in 1748, he chose a wide variety of flowers, or at least commissioned Lord Deskford to purchase them for him from Christopher Gray in London.[111] The total of this one order was £20, and it was packed up in 20 baskets. The flowers were all put in one basket, and the list is given in table 13. The species mentioned include different kinds of daisies, valerians and asters, with yellow asphodel, one day lilies, columbines, hellebore, goldenrod and cranesbill. Lord Deskford dismissed them as £2 worth of common flower roots, chosen by the gardener, so he too felt that a formal garden should not contain these intruders.

Vegetables were much more in demand, and these were bought in large quantities every year. Most of Cosmo George's purchases were made in Edinburgh, either from Robert McClellan or Archibald Eagle, and these are given in tables 11 and 12.[112] The seeds supplied were not always successful, for once, in December 1746, Katherine wrote to Fraser, the duke's Edinburgh lawyer, asking him to order seeds from a good supplier: 'wee used I think to get from Egle, but last year they were so bad that very few of them came throw the ground. I beg you'll speak to Egle or any other you imploy to send us good ones, in particular the clover seed I wish it be good for the last wee got from Egle was vastly bad and cost a dele of money'.[113] Fraser did patronise Eagle

again, though there is nothing to show how the seeds did this time. From the tables, a wide variety of seed was supplied, including many herbs and salad ingredients. Unusual vegetables include both fennel and finocchio, as well as rocombole, scorzonera, asparagus, cardoons and skirrets.

Breadalbane was also buying vegetable seeds in Edinburgh at the same period, again from Miller,[114] and his purchases are shown in table 13. They show a wider variety than those purchased for Gordon Castle. Sassafee is probably the same as sassafras, a kind of laurel used medicinally, savory is an aromatic herb, and succory is a form of chicory.

Most of the other seeds for Gordon Castle were bought from George Gairden in Banff.[115] He supplied a variety of the usual vegetables, such as carrots, turnips, lettuces, spinach, beet, cabbage, beans and peas, though in 1750 he wrote regretting that he was unable to supply corn salad, garlic heads or marigolds, and stating that there were few cauliflower plants in town.

When Breadalbane was in Edinburgh in 1751, the vegetables supplied for his consumption included asparagus, spinach, shallots, celery, artichokes and potatoes, and various herbs, including thyme, fennel, box, hyssop, sweet bay and pennyroyal. Lord Stormont in 1710 was buying a variety of vegetable seeds in Perth, including three separate kinds of both beans and lettuce, asparagus, two sorts of cabbage, onions and peas, as well as leeks, parsnips, carrots, cauliflower, marjoram, basil and radishes. There are similar accounts for Castle Grant. One account of 1734 includes five different kinds of lettuce -

cabbage, white cos, imperial, Silesia and brown Dutch.

Cosmo George occasionally bought vegetable seeds in London, usually from Henry Hewitt, who supplied a few exotics such as prickly cucumbers and melons. His prices were the same as in Edinburgh and Banff, but he had a wider range of the more common vegetables, such as six kinds of lettuce, five kinds of peas, four kinds of beans, and three kinds of radish, beet, cabbage and onion, and a wide selection of herbs including Hamburg parsley, chervil, white mustard, burnett, nasturtium, basil, rosemary and lavender. Another London merchant supplied turnip seed in quantity.

By the beginning of the century, tree planting was a fashionable occupation. The earliest account noted at Gordon Castle is one of 1712, when Alexander bought Dutch elms, beech, crab and codlin apples in Edinburgh. On Cosmo George's return from Holland in 1738, he started the afforestation of the park in a big way. He began by planting ashes, elms and planes in the park, the planting being done by the forester. Four years later, a new man described as his grace's improver of ground was employed to supervise the planting. A few years later in 1745, William Anderson, the planner, arrived at Gordon Castle, and remained there until his death. He carried on the planting in the absence of the duke, writing occasionally either to report progress, or to complain that no further instructions had arrived. In a letter of 1748, he gave details of a current project:[116] the avenues were being planted with white poplars, limes mixed with beeches, ashes and horse chestnuts, with a fir between each, while elsewhere the birks and hollies were being planted out, and replaced if dead.

Most of Cosmo George's purchases of trees came from London. All he bought from Edinburgh were geans and laburnums. Breadalbane's Edinburgh purchases from Miller are given in table 13, and they include Dutch alder, saugh, grey ledington and beech trees. Cosmo George's London purchases were from Henry Hewitt. In 1747, he sent beeches, English and Dutch elms, horse chestnuts, hornbeams and larches, the trees being up to six feet tall. They were despatched by sea. In the following year Hewitt sent English elms and Spanish chestnuts.

Lord Hopetoun's account, already quoted in table 14, in comparison contains some very expensive and ornamental trees, including a laurel leaved tulip tree costing a guinea, a candleberry tree, a striped chestnut, a catalpha or Indian bean, mulberries and cedars of Lebanon, and a whole range of American imports: from Carolina, poplars, hawthorns, sumachs and a kidney bean tree; from Virginia, red hawthorn, tulip tree, cherryplums, creeper, sweet crab and cedars; and from New England, medlars.

Orchards had been popular in Scotland long before tree planting became fashionable. There was one at Gordon Castle in the 17th century, though no list of its contents survives. In Cosmo George's time, the fruit was not always sufficient when the family was at home, and extra had to be bought; though when the family was absent, the surplus was sold in the market. In 1748, when Cosmo George was in London, most of the fruit was sent to the two Rathven fairs, or distributed in presents round the neighbourhood. The Earl of Aberdeen was the most frequent recipient. Other places sent reciprocal gifts, the most unusual being pineapples from Atholl's pinery at Dunkeld; this was in 1742, when the

bearer who came all the way to Gordon Castle was given the unprecedented sum of 10s 6d. Gifts from Fyvie or Kelly, sent by the Aberdeens, were rewarded with the usual shilling or two.

Lord Hopetoun's orchard was again very well stocked. He had it planted out in 1733-4, with many kinds of apples, apricots, figs, pears, peaches, plums and vines. The vines were trained up a hot wall, of seven panels, holding about 16 varieties of vine. Some of these vines had been sent by Lord Ilay from Mr King's garden at Brompton near London in 1736. Twenty years later, Lord Hopetoun made extensive alterations to his fruit garden, again buying from Christopher Gray in London. Even before the additions, Lord Hopetoun's garden was well stocked, for the south aspect of the fruit garden already contained 10 kinds of plum, nine kinds of apricot, four nectarines, 17 peaches, 30 pears, 11 apples and a fig.

At Gordon Castle, some of the fruit was reserved as a perquisite for the cashier's family, for which a nominal sum was paid. From a list of 1748, the following varieties were supplied:[117] apples, apricots, cherries, red and white currants, gooseberries, kitchen apples, peaches, pears and plums. Apples, pears and plums were usually charged at a penny a dozen, and the rarer apricots and peaches at 3d the dozen.

A similar system was followed at Castle Grant. During the summer of 1747, the following fruit and vegetables were sold from Cotthall: apples, artichokes, apricots, beans and French beans, black and red currants, carrots, cabbage, cauliflower, greens, gooseberries and red gooseberries, leeks, lettuce, onions, parsnips, plums, potatoes, peas, salad, spinach, strawberries and turnips. Apples cost 2s 6d the peck

and peas 4d the pound.[118]

Most gardens of this period had ornamental waterworks in front of the house. The most elaborate was that proposed by Mar for Alloa, with a reservoir on top of the old tower and a pump in the basement to bring up the water from a small stream diverted through it for this purpose. This was to supply the water for a display, including a fountain on the balcony on the second floor of the house, and a supply taken up to the belvedere. On a smaller scale, at Easter Moy, there was a suitable branch of the Findhorn handy for Major Grant to divert across his avenue, and plant with trees.[119] The display at Gordon Castle was not ambitious: a large stretch of water in the middle of the lawn, with a fountain in it, and two other smaller ponds at right angles, forming a 'T' shape, another long parallel sheet down one side, and four more little ponds disposed among the flowers and trees. When Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll, was considering rebuilding his house at Inveraray in 1666, he also thought of remodelling the garden. He consulted Sir Robert Murray, president of the Royal Society, on this subject. Murray suggested an ambitious scheme, with a wilderness, with trees and thickets, fish ponds for pike, perch and trout, as well as a home for duck and wildfowl, and an orchard containing a cherry garden.[120]

Glass houses were still not common in Scotland, though Mar intended to build one at Alloa. There is no reference to such a thing at Gordon Castle, though hot beds and bell glasses were used. At Hopetoun there was a hot wall by 1750, used for grapes. Lord Mar also designed an orangery, surrounded with high hedges for shelter.

The fashion of building summerhouses began in Italy, as a protection

from the sun, and it was taken up enthusiastically in Scotland, though possibly for shelter more from the rain or wind than sun. Lord Mar designed a belvedere, with a view of about 16 miles in three directions. Gordon Castle was sited too low for any kind of a view, except from the top of the tower, but like other gardens it had its summerhouse. It was a largish building of two storeys, the downstairs rooms panelled with wood and the upper ones lined with linen. There were glass doors facing north and south. In 1702 the furniture consisted of a resting bed, arras hangings, eight chairs and a pillow. The building was not intended to withstand a severe winter, and by the time the furniture was taken indoors that year, one of the hangings was already damaged by rain. By Cosmo George's time, the charms of the building had faded, and it was being used as a boxroom or garden shed. The contents included the remains of a fire engine and a machine for drawing docks, while the summerhouse furniture proper is dismissed as an old wainscot table and six window seats, all decayed and not worth valuing.

A formal garden required a good deal of work to keep it looking formal, so there were many gardeners and a variety of tools. With all the topiary and shrubs, pruning knives were essential. These and spades were bought from various places, costing between 2s 6d and 3s 9d each. Scythes always cost 2s. There is only one account for a sickle: it cost 1s 6d, and rather oddly, it came from an Elgin gunsmith. Wheelbarrows were made locally in Garmouth at 4s 6d mostly, but in 1737, a special barrow was made by the duke's wheelwright following a pattern supplied by the laird of Drummuir, when the materials alone cost 9s. Other implements mentioned in a list of 1722 drawn up by Henrietta, included a

child's watering can belonging to her daughter Harriot, nine beeskeps (four of them with bees), two weeding irons, two earth riddles and two rolling stones.

The number of gardeners and labourers employed in the gardens and park varied little between 1725 and 1753, and the rate of payment remained the same. The head gardener was paid about £9 yearly until 1738 when he retired or died, and his successor claimed the same amount. However, he was unsuccessful, and was forced to accept £7, with £1 as a gratuity in place of the grass of the garden.[121] The rank and file received 8s 9d per quarter (that is, £21 scots a year), along with two pecks of meal weekly. By 1742, the wages were paid quarterly and the meal monthly. There were eight gardeners in 1725, and by 1735 the number had risen to 15. After this it varies between the two figures, usually about nine. During the six years 1742-7, the amount of money paid to the gardeners was about £100, including the meal converted into cash.

At Cullen, a different system was followed. There, in 1774, there was a head gardener, paid £15 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ bolls of meal yearly, along with a free house, kitchen stuff for himself and maintenance for a cow. He was not allowed to cultivate any land for himself, and the grass was either sold for Lord Findlater or turned into hay. Most of the labour was supplied by apprentices, whose fees were paid to Lord Findlater. The head gardener supervised the kitchen garden, pleasure ground, nursery and plantations, except what was under another gardener, who was paid £10 yearly with two pecks of meal and 6d a week as maintenance. The work was divided between these two men. Additional labour as required

was supplied by the brighter boys on the estate, but Findlater's managers were obviously against this practice, thinking that the gardener tended to claim more labour than he actually needed.[122]

Compared with this garden, the park needed a lot less attention, and it was also used to pasture animals for the table as well as ornamental beasts and fowls. Lord Mar proposed separate parks for red deer, fallow deer, sheep, cows and horses, all separated by paths or roads. At Gordon Castle, there was a deer park, planting park, pigeon and washinghouse park, the last for use not ornament. The ideal site, with the house in the middle of a circular park, is seldom found, owing to deficiencies in the terrain, or an awkward site chosen by the original builder more for defence against his neighbours than by any appreciation of the picturesque. At Gordon Castle, the position of the old village of Fochabers, right up against the park wall to the west of the house, made the park an irregular shape. Alexander began the idea of enlarging the park at this point by buying the land of a tenant just outside the wall, and Cosmo George made plans to remove the whole village as early as 1746, but his early death prevented the execution of this idea. A plan of 1754 shows the old village of Fochabers where it still was, with the proposed new village drawn in further south.[123] The actual removal did not take place until the fourth duke grew up, and started to remodel the castle as well as the park, to designs by Baxter.

CHAPTER 4

THE HOUSEHOLD

An establishment the size of Gordon Castle required a large staff. As a centre for the neighbourhood, the castle was visited by both neighbours and travellers, and in addition to the paid staff, the duke maintained a variety of unpaid workers and hangers on, some of whom worked for their meals, as well as visitors and workmen employed around the castle and estate. While the dukes were no longer surrounded by an armed retinue of Gordons, vestiges of this tradition remain in the frequent visits of local lairds distantly related to the ducal family, and in the open table kept for them, their servants, and a number of indigent pensioners and charitable objects, all fed at the duke's expense.

There were always people coming and going on errands, as well as letter bearers, the post, bringers of poultry, eggs and fish, carriers, beggars, peddlers, merchants and farm workers. The first tables in this chapter (15-16), show the numbers of family, visitors and servants at Gordon Castle in 1738 and 1743. Table 15 gives the visitors during the summer of 1738[1]. Naturally most of them were Gordons, the lairds of Auchluncart, Arradoul, Cairnfield, Comrie, Glastirum, Letterfurie, Park and General Gordon, the curator, bailie and doctor, all Gordons, and often accompanied by a variety of female relations. Titled visitors were Aberdeen, Findlater, Deskford, Saltoun, Forbes and Lord John Drummond, and other neighbours included Grant of Grant, Sir Harry Innes,

Lessindrum and Birkenbog. Lower down the social scale, ministers, doctors, land surveyors and various trades people also appear. Table 16 gives the visitors in July 1743, the month when Cosmo George's heir was born. Most of the previous visitors still appear, some with servants, or sending presents or letters.

To cope with this influx, a large staff was essential. During the time of the first two Gordon dukes, the numbers stood at 45-50, which includes gardeners but not outworkers. Henrietta brought the number down a little after Alexander's death, by abolishing or combining some of the posts. Among those abolished were the positioners of falconer and warrener, while the offices of master of horse and master of labouring were combined as master of work or of labouring. When Cosmo George was abroad in 1738 and Henrietta retired to Prestonhall, the numbers at Gordon Castle dropped to 21, and even after Cosmo George's return and marriage they did not rise higher than 25, though this figure does not include gardeners or outdoor servants. Similarly, at Balloch, John, first earl of Breadalbane, maintained a staff of about 44 including 10 gardeners, but in his absence the numbers dropped to 17. At Panmure in 1715, there were 46 servants, and at Hopetoun during the years 1742-62, the numbers varied between 41 and 45.

At Gordon Castle the household was not as rigidly defined as at Hopetoun or Taymouth later in the century. The women servants were treated as the duchess's, though they were under the housekeeper. While the indoor male servants were under the butler, the outdoor ones were under the master of work. Table 17 gives the various posts, their wages, the dates when they appear, and any perquisites.

As a general rule, the indoor servants got free board and lodging, and sometimes free washing, while the outdoor servants were given an allowance of meal weekly and sometimes a free house. Some servants, both indoor and outdoor, were also given clothes, including coats, suits, shoes or boots and stockings, and livery, including aprons, frocks and leather breeches.

The Hopetoun household was organised rather differently, and probably more effectively. There the servants were divided into three groups, household, stables and women, and there were several posts which were lacking at Gordon Castle, including a tailor, and a good many more cooks.

As well as the paid staff, there were several unpaid positions, either given to pensioners or unemployable persons, or as a step on the way to a paid situation. The latter included posts as dog boy, spit boy and kitchen helper. These were too menial to be paid, but board was provided, and there was the possibility of a paid job if they did well. The officers and executioner of the regality of Huntly were paid very little, but they had free houses and an allowance of meal. The occupants of the duke's hospital at Auchinhalrig were maintained at the duke's expense, and were often given a hand-out in return for some little job around the castle or when sent on an errand. The unemployable or half witted could sometimes find shelter. The duke maintained a fool until at least 1749. In 1742 he was called Jack Burnett, or Fool Jack, and he was succeeded by John Reid. They were both fed in the kitchen and clothed at the duke's expense. Similarly, at Panmure, 'dumbie' was included among those in the kitchen who got a share of the drinkmoney

left in 1715.

Seasonal labour was also employed. Extra hands could be raised when necessary in harvest time from all over the estate. These men and women were all fed: the butler intermittently noted in his pantry book the numbers and their residence, as, 20 Urquhart hooks, 45 men of the Enzie, 16 Auchindoun men or 24 hayers from Huntly. They were each given a daily allowance of bread and ale, while the scythers were given butter for their scythes. The officers and piper, who also helped in the harvest, received the same allowance. Sometimes help came from an unexpected quarter, as in July 1746, when four Hanoverian dragoons were engaged to mow the grass and cut the hay.

Even when the family was absent, the farm work went on as usual. Table 18 shows the jobs rewarded with bread or ale during the autumn of 1738. From these lists, the servants went on with their jobs, the gardeners were set to work in the cornfields and woods, while the brewer, being almost out of work, was helping the wheelwright. Traffic in both directions was still brisk, and provisions were brought in. Servants employed on odd jobs also received an allowance of bread and ale, those specified including catching moles and rats, putting in waggons, washing butter, turning bere, malt and oats, masking and grinding, bleeding various animals, bouting flour, ditching, sowing grass, winnowing, cleaning chimneys, shoeing horses, driving carthorses, mucking byres and hunting for lost sheep.

The household was a pyramid structure, with a horizontal dividing line between the upper and lower servants. The upper servants were the duke's secretary (who was theoretically in charge of the household,

with the butler and housekeeper doing the actual supervision beneath him), the duke's valet, the duchess's woman, and the head cook. Under these posts there were inferior servants: footmen, porters, nurses, maids and kitchen helpers, all indoors. Out of doors, the master of work supervised the coachman, grooms and gardeners, as well as estate workers such as quarriers, ditchers and labourers, some of whom were under the factors on the various lordships.

Discipline was sometimes difficult to maintain, and the rules laid down by the Duke of Queensberry for Drumlanrig in 1695[2] are remarkably similar to those drafted by Lady Breadalbane for Taymouth in 1829.[3] Both writers were endeavouring to prevent the servants getting something for nothing; Queensberry being particularly against idle and useless people haunting about the house, the practice of servants removing bottles of wine to their rooms and the brewing of extra ale, while Lady Breadalbane concentrated more on the elimination of waste and making sure that the servants were fully occupied. Burt's diatribes on the slovenliness and inadequacy of highland servants must be overstated, but there were many occasions when the Gordon Castle servants were in trouble, and were reprimanded, fined or even dismissed. Cosmo George himself once sacked a gardener, and Betty, his sister, did the same to another. In 1746, one of the labourers was dismissed because, as the master of work wrote to the Enzie factor who was responsible for paying the man, he had been 'so often disobedient and debauching the rest of his fellow servants that he noways can longer be suffered. He went even the length as not only to refuse to go about his lawful business, but even damned me to my face'.[4] Lesser crimes were punished by fines. Many

of the servants, indoors and out, were guilty of small misdeneanours, such as stealing produce from the castle gardens: at different times, servants stole artichokes (which they found inedible), gooseberries, apricots, peaches, pears and apples. Other crimes which were fined include staying out all night (footman), keeping his own sheep in the duke's park (forester), jumping over the garden dyke twice (a groom, fined 2s 6d when seen by Henrietta and 1s when seen by the bailie of the regality), failing to turn up when the duke was setting off hunting (the same footman), stealing lead from the castle roof, and wounding a fellow servant in the belly with a spade. On one occasion, a mass outbreak of dyke leaping took place, in which the under porter, wheelwright, groom, coachman, postilion, chambermaid and nurserymaid were all concerned, presumably in the course of a mis-spent evening. Sometimes the duke let the offender off with a caution, but the footman who had a night out and then failed to attend the duke out hunting did not last long. Occasionally, the disorder took place in the castle, as on the occasion when the postilion and undercook were convicted of swearing 'terrible and blasphemous oathes' in the kitchen before little Andrew Innes.[5]

Accommodation was arranged according to status: secretary, butler, housekeeper, cook and master of work, all had individual rooms. Katherine's woman slept with the children, while the valet occupied the duke's closet, and the inferior servants shared rooms in the attics (female), or over the stables (male).

What the various servants ate, as well as when and where they ate it, was always a much discussed matter. John, lord Glenorchy, had

a struggle with a laundrymaid, whom he intended to engage for Edinburgh and Taymouth, who insisted on sitting at the upper servants' table, though her English counterpart had no such pretensions. Eventually Glenorchy decided not to engage her in case it upset the other servants.

At Gordon Castle, the family ate first with their guests in one of the diningrooms; then the upper servants and inferior guests ate at the second table in the second table room; and lastly the under servants and visiting tradesmen ate in the servants' hall at the third and fourth tables, supplementing the leftovers with additional plain food; and the remains were then eaten by the hangers-on in the kitchen, distributed to the poor or given to the dogs.

Apart from the leftovers, the servants were fed mainly on bread, ale and custom haddock, with the coarser pieces of meat on the four meat days each week. Some of the outservants were also given dried fish as part of their wages, or a piece of venison or pigeons when fish was not available. The cook and housekeeper also got pieces of meat occasionally, but the accounts do not make it clear whether this was a perquisite or board wages. At Drumlanrig, the servants had two fish days, three salt beef and two fresh beef, in summer 1695, while the upper servants, as elsewhere, ate the leftovers from the duchess's table.

At Gordon Castle, the second table was reserved for the secretary, valet, librarian, butler, duchess's woman, housekeeper and head washer, while the inferior servants were lumped together at two or three tables, depending on their number. When the duke was abroad in 1738, with most of his entourage, the housekeeper was alone left at the second table, with all the other servants at the third table. Table 16

gives the servants at the two-four tables in July 1743, along with their daily allowances. The secretary, valet and Katherine's woman alone got rolls, while the inferior servants were given the usual daily allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ loaves and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of ale.

An interesting contrast is afforded by the Montagu household at Boughton in Northamptonshire.[6] It was organised along the same lines, at three tables - his grace, the steward and the servants. Numbers at the first table are small, rarely above eight, and never over 15. The numbers at the lower tables fluctuate: the steward's table between 12 and 30, and the servants' up to 70 on occasion, though 30-40 is customary. The duke is served first, and then the steward's table gets the remains along with some plain meat, while anything left from this table goes to the servants, and finally the bones are given to the dogs. In similar circumstances, Lady Breadalbane ordered that the bones should be made into a nourishing soup for the poor. The same arrangement was followed at supper. Breakfast is not often mentioned: the servants are given broth and beer for this meal, while those at the steward's table get wine and strong beer. At Hopetoun, there were four tables at meals. The first consisted of 10-18 people, in 1754-5, and the remains usually sufficed for the second and third tables, along with an additional supply of beef once or twice a week, for these two latter tables were fairly small: six-eight at the second, and 10-12 at the third. The rank and file at the fourth table, usually about 30 in number, were fed on beef (about a pound per person for dinner), eggs (three each), herrings (two each) or cheese ($\frac{1}{2}$ lb per person).

All these posts had their duties, ranging from the responsibilities

of the secretary or master of work, down to the dog or spit boy.

John Hamilton, the secretary, attended Cosmo George in person, but as he was also factor of the lordship of Huntly, and lived at Sandston, he was not much concerned with the daily management of the household. His accounts of disbursements for the duke are mainly entries for postages, drinkmoney when the duke was out visiting, presents to errand bearers, and odd sums lent to the duke. Hamilton joined the Jacobites, failed to defend Carlisle, was captured, and executed in 1746. Cosmo George did not engage a replacement till 1749, when Robert Gordon was hired 'to act in the station of a secretary'.

The day to day running of the household was carried out by the butler and housekeeper. The butler was in charge of the pantry, and kept a pantry book showing consumption of bread, rolls and ale, and at times also supervised the wine cellar, while the housekeeper ordered the provisions, arranged the meals, and sometimes looked after the cellar. At one time, the butler and housekeeper were a married couple, each receiving the same wage. In Lord Glenorchy's household, the butler supervised the brewing, gave the plates a second polish after the kitchenmaid had washed them, bought provisions and kept the household accounts. He also looked after the cellar, and was supposed to keep the other servants away from the liquor. He did not wear livery. At Hopetoun, the wife of the third earl organised the household carefully, and entrusted the care of it to a housekeeper. In a note written for her daughter, it is emphasised that firmness and steadiness were essential to enable the housekeeper to manage the servants, and to help this, she must always be supported even when wrong.[7] She was to keep five

separate books - for yarn; poultry; milk and butter; soap, candles, blue, starch and brooms; and tea, coffee, sugar, honey, groceries, spiceries and spirits. Lady Hopetoun inspected these books every morning, examined the vouchers and initialled them. This was recommended, for 'the ruin and declension of great families may be more ascribed to inattention to internal family regulation than to any other cause whatsoever'.

At Gordon Castle, the system was much simpler, for the housekeeper kept only one household book, dealing with the expenditure of meat, poultry, eggs, butter, candle, custom fish and other provisions, along with another account book of money laid out for the items which had to be paid for, not being provided by the estate. In addition to these two books, when she had charge of the cellar, she also kept a cellar book, showing what had been used and what remained in the cellar.

The cook was supreme in the kitchen. The occupant of this post at Gordon Castle changed very rapidly, and the salary fluctuated more than any of the other posts, varying between £5 in 1717 and 25 guineas in 1749. Most of the cooks were incomers, and the conditions of service and the state of the kitchen were probabiy the reasons why they failed to stay for long. Lord Glenorchy's cook at one point was French, and caused him a good deal of uneasiness with his flighty ways, carelessness and habit of getting into debt. As Glenorchy commented acidly, he was always singing and never thinking, which led to his leaving meat and butter lying round till spoilt, and forgetting to provide food for the servants. At a later date, in 1827, the newly married Louisa, countess of Hopetoun, also had difficulty with her cook and wrote to her father for advice, saying she was almost sure the cook was stealing meat, but

as she did not know how much meat the household ate, she could not check. Lord Hopetoun's plan was to raid the carrier's cart on its way to Edinburgh; unfortunately there is no letter from Louisa to say if this worked.[8] All the Gordon Castle cooks have non-local names, the oddest being Vesey Blood, who may have been but an indifferent cook, for he was paid only £5 a year, and did not stay long. In 1749, the most highly paid of the series arrived, called William Forbes, who was engaged in London, and as well as his travelling expenses to Scotland, was given 25 guineas a year. Cookery books were presumably used by all cooks, but only at Hopetoun are the books specified, and included Patrick Lamb's Royal Cookery, published in 1716, and Hannah Glasse's The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy, 4th edition, 1751.

The duke's valet and the duchess's woman were their personal attendants, and usually stayed in attendance upon them. At least, Mary Panton stayed with Katherine, for she also looked after the children when young, but James Bennet, the valet, was despatched with the two elder boys to Harrow. In youth, Cosmo George had had a French page, but this post disappears soon after Alexander's death. Bennet first appeared in 1741; he was apparently Swiss, and his name also appears as Benet or Bonna, and he remained with the family till his death in 1771.

Footmen came and went, but one, Andrew Innes, remained with the duke. He had served Alexander, when he was known as little Andrew, and later became Cosmo George's personal footman and went everywhere with him. He retired in 1751 owing to ill health, and was made park keeper at Gordon Castle, an almost honorary post with a salary higher than he had been receiving as footman, along with a yearly

suit of livery. He also had a new house in the park built for him. His last appearance was at the duke's funeral.

Lord Glenorchy often had trouble with his footmen. He commended one once as a useful servant, clean, genteel and ready to do anything, unlike the others, who complained if asked to do anything not exactly what they were hired for. The duchess's footman was a special post. He accompanied her around town and carried messages for her, so that he had to be able to read and write. He also got the duchess's breakfast and tea equipage ready each day and cleaned them. Lady Glenorchy's footman was a minister's son. In addition to his other duties, he was expected to wait at the second table, curl hair and powder, while another of the Glenorchy footman, a German, was good at bleeding the household when necessary, and knew something of medicine.

Grooms changed frequently, though one, James Gatherer, also spelled Gadderer, remained with the family, for he entered the service as an under groom in 1717, and retired in 1750 to the bedesmen's hospital at Auchenhalrig. There are few notes on the duties of a groom, but Lord Glenorchy expected one of his to act as a footman when in London, and also to drive a chaise to save Glenorchy the expense of hiring a coachman.

The porter was an indispensable figure in any big house. He lived in his lodge, and performed a variety of functions. At Gordon Castle, the lodge was stuffed with useful items, including a wig block, a boot jack, brushes and mops, a candle chest, three peat baskets, candlesticks and snuffers.

The farrier was usually put on reduced wages when the family was

absent. Similarly, the wheelwright was on one occasion, only paid for nine months in the year and given liberty to work elsewhere for the other three months.

In the kitchen, the cook was assisted by a man or men, or a baker, as well as a kitchen helper and a scaldry boy or woman. The last boy at Gordon Castle died in 1730, and after this the job was done by a woman, Jean Jamieson, who remained for many years. She had a monthly wage of 2s 6d, with extra when she was removed from her duties in the scullery to assist the housekeeper, when an even less skilled hand was employed in the scullery. She was the wife of one of the waggoners on the estate. Predictably, Lord Glenorchy found another cause for complaint in the Scottish habit of employing a boy in the kitchen. He remarked bitterly that he was accustomed to a kitchenmaid, and went on to list her duties: to wash the silver plate first before the butler put the finishing touches to it, keep the kitchen clean, dress the meat for the lower servants, and to know a little of the cook's business, for the men cooks in England were superior servants and ate at the second table. Eventually, Glenorchy commissioned a friend in Edinburgh to hire a kitchenmaid for Taymouth, and was very annoyed when friend confessed his failure to get a suitable one. Later he admitted defeat and started to hunt for one in Newcastle, on the advice of the Duchess of Atholl, who told him she could manage very well with other Scots maids, but that an English kitchenmaid was a must. At Hopetoun, the cook was assisted by four cook's men, though the cook at Gordon Castle had to manage with the assistance of only one and some unskilled labour.

The earliest reference noted to a piper at Gordon Castle is in 1717, but there must have been one there long before. Both the second and third dukes employed one at a pittance to play during the harvest to keep the haymakers in time. This was probably his main function, though as Cosmo George gave gratuities to other pipers when he was visiting, it is probable that his own played similarly for his visitors' entertainment. Sir James Grant also had a piper, rather better paid at £40 scots yearly.

The inferior women servants changed fairly rapidly. The most skilled post was that of head washer, who sat at the second table at Gordon Castle. Again, Lord Glenorchy had a struggle to engage a suitable laundrymaid for Taymouth, but perhaps his standards were too high; he had wistful recollections of a paragon he had once employed, who had managed the weekly wash with only 9-10 lb of soap instead of the 12-13 lb used by other laundrymaids, and she had also managed to return the washing on the Thursday, instead of Saturday like the others. Glenorchy never owned more than 14 shirts at one time. His long suffering Edinburgh correspondent once more reported difficulty on this point, and Glenorchy, after enquiring among his friends, was able to write back and say that Lady Findlater, Lady Hopetoun, and Miss Murray, Elibank's sister, all washed weekly in Scotland, and that Lady Hopetoun's washer also mended the table linen and sheets into the bargain.

When the Gordon children were young, there was a constant procession of wet and dry nurses. Isobel Shand, Cosmo George's wet nurse, entered the service when the baby was a week old, and she was succeeded by a dry nurse, Helen Stewart, who remained with the family till the duke

was grown up, and along with her children was still receiving odd handouts in the kitchen twenty years later. Flora, Lady Loudoun, left careful directions how her second nurserymaid was to occupy her day, in 1807. As the under nurserymaid, she did the dirty jobs - washing the nursery floor, cleaning candlesticks, bringing in coals, washing the children's clothes and darning them when necessary. Flora, however, at least insisted that the 'young person' should have a daily walk and enough time to darn her own clothes and 'improve' herself.[9]

Isobel MacGregor performed the lowliest job of all: she is variously described as a scavenger or necessary woman, or more accurately, as the person employed to empty the chamberboxes. For this revolting job she received 8s a year and 2s for shoes.

Various other posts disappear in Cosmo George's youth. At one point Henrietta definitely had a negro, though Alexander has omitted to note whether the odd sums he was paid were wages or not. Negroes were certainly very badly paid elsewhere. Scipio Kennedy, a slave from Guinea, was only paid £12 scots a year (along with a share in the drink-money) in the household of Sir John Kennedy of Culzean in 1725.[10] The falconer, Elisabeth de la Garde known as old mademoiselle, the pages, governors and warrener fade out under Henrietta's regime. The governors and old mademoiselle were certainly Catholic, and as such not acceptable to the Protestant Henrietta. She herself employed a series of Episcopal chaplains, one of whom accompanied Alexander 'out' in 1715. While Cosmo George continued to keep hawks, he did not employ a falconer full time, though his son later revived the post.[11]

Other households also suffered from difficulties with servants.

Some of Lord Glenorchy's complaints have already been mentioned, and again, when he was preparing for a visit to Scotland on one occasion, he decided to dismiss his well trained English servants, for, as he prophesied glumly, 'they would never submit to the inconveniency of Taymouth and the Abbey'. This was not an aspect of the servant problem which had ever troubled his grandfather, who had a total indifference to the welfare of his menials: in 1697 or so, when meditating spending the winter on his island fortress of Castle Kilchurn, he remarked in passing to his chamberlain that he intended to winter there as it was the warmest house that he possessed, 'and all the inconvenience of it in that season is to servants and not to masters who stir but little out of doors'. Having dismissed this trivial point, he went on to the more important one of how to get a supply of logs without having to resort to the 'scandalous' expense of cutting trees.[12]

During the first half of the 18th century, there was little change in wages or conditions of service. In general, the more highly paid servants were given higher wages, while the inferior ones remained as they were. The wages at Gordon Castle were much the same as at other big houses in the north of Scotland. Wages at Castle Grant, 1739-42, were: cook £4, footman £2, coachman £3-£4, gardener £4, maltman £2, peatman £1 7s, and gardener's man 11s-£1. The wages at Monymusk were similar: cook £3 15s, groom £3, footman £2 10s, chambermaid and washermaid £1 3s 4d, dairymaid £3, and housekeeper 7 guineas. However, at the same time the gardener was paid £24, which is very high. Sir Archibald Grant was a keen improver, and perhaps thought more of his policy than his table.

At Panmure, the wages are slightly less than at Gordon Castle. The next table (19) gives the wages at Gordon Castle, Panmure and Hopetoun. From this, Gordon Castle is in the middle range. Apart from these other two households, it is difficult to find another comparison. The Duke of Montrose spent most of his time in England, and the staff kept at Buchanan was only a skeleton one, augmented when the duke came to Scotland. Similarly, John, third earl of Breadalbane, spent most of his adult life in England, and only visited Scotland for a short period most summers. Alexander, second earl of Marchmont, was another absentee peer. When at Cambrai in 1722, he wrote home with details of the staff he felt necessary to look after the children left in Scotland: a good grave woman as governess 'to keep the young ones from being quite idle', a gentlewoman to dress them, a chambermaid, coachman, page and a servant to overlook the estate and household generally.[13]

As well as wages and subsistence or meal in lieu, some servants were also given livery or a suit of clothes, or appropriate clothing, such as aprons for a cook, as well as shoes and stockings. These clothes were expensive: in 1742, the Gordon Castle butler received 5s to buy a hat, 3s for shoes and 2s 6d for stockings, making a sizeable addition to his yearly wage of £5. Economical employers such as John, earl of Breadalbane, sometimes bought secondhand clothing for their servants, or gave them an allowance for wearing the same garment for another year. Monymusk was careful to stipulate that his wife's footman was only to wear his livery clothes when travelling or at dinner. Servants were often given their travelling charges between Edinburgh and Gordon Castle, and occasionally from London, when entering or leaving the duke's employment.

Washing was always free for servants when away from home. Some favoured servants, particularly valets, were also given their masters' cast off clothes: Cosmo George's went either to James Bennet or the local barber. Lord Annandale's valet also did very well with a supply of clothing. Inservants always received their keep and tradesmen employed at the castle also got meals automatically. In 1750, when a squarewright and his man were working at the castle, he pointed out that he had charged his own time at 10d the day and his servant's and his own combined at 1s, as 'the above low stating is because myself and servant had our maintenance at Gordon Castle', for the usual charge was 1s a day for himself and 6d for his man.

Outservants received a weekly or yearly allowance of meal. Bedesmen, quarriers and labourers in the garden as well as various retired servants all had a stated allowance, and sometimes their rent was paid for them or a free house supplied.

The inservants had one great advantage over the others. With a house the size of Gordon Castle, there were a great many visitors, and following a well established custom, the visitors left drinkmoney behind them. Lord Breadalbane often gave half a crown to a servant for opening his carriage door for him, and butlers, servant maids, fowlers, pipers and grooms were often all rewarded individually as well as a lump sum left to be shared out. When an undercook at Gordon Castle retired after only four months service, he got 10s 6d as drinkmoney in addition to a yearly wage of £2-£3. At Monymusk, the cook got a quarter of what was left as drinkmoney, and at Panmure it was collected and shared out: the countess's gentlewoman, butler and cook each received about 20%, and

the remaining 40% was shared among the porter, chambermaid, washer-woman, cook's man and his boy, 'dumbie', the carters, gardener and steward's boy. Sometimes the sums left were quite large: when the Duke of Manchester spent a week with the Duke of Montagu at Boughton in 1724, he left 10 guineas, and when the Duke of Hamilton visited Panmure in 1731, he left 5 guineas, though one guinea or even a half was customary. There is a unique record at Panmure in a list of drinkmoney left during the years 1714-16, when a note records that the King (the Old Pretender) left 20 louis d'or (about £17 10s).[14] Drinkmoney was also shared out at Hopetoun: in 1749, the butler, cook and housekeeper each received about 25% of the total of £17 odds, leaving the other £4 to be distributed among seven female servants.

The early 18th century was a period of change in domestic habits, from the earlier phase in which households were largely self supporting, to a condition in which most of the food and other products were bought from the nearest centre or imported from elsewhere. At Gordon Castle, the household was still largely self supporting in essentials while luxuries were imported. The household subsisted on meat reared on the estate, and slaughtered and salted at home, meal from the duke's estate, eggs from the barnyard, poultry home reared or brought in as kain fowl by tenants, ale brewed from the duke's malt on the premises, candle made from the tallow of the slaughtered beasts, butter bought locally from tenants, wildfowl shot on the muirs, pigeons from the dovecote, fruit and vegetables from the garden, and fish from the Moray Firth. These were the essentials, and in the duke's absence, the household subsisted for months on these items alone.

Taking the essentials one by one, and beginning with meat: it was either purchased from the tenants or produced by them as custom sheep and lambs in part payment of their rent. During 1746, 55 lambs were delivered, and in the following year 83½ wedders were furnished as custom sheep. The slaughtering was done by Thomas Claperton, a weaver, who charged 3½d per cow. He was succeeded in 1749 by George Sutherland whose charges were higher: 6d per head for oxen, cows and swine, 3d for calves, 2d for skinning a deer, and 1d for sheep, wedders, ewes and lambs. The figures for 1740 were 24 cows, 18½ sheep and 32 deer and 4 fawns,[15] and, for 1741, 37 cows, 54½ sheep and 11 deer.

Once killed, the meat was reckoned in pieces. Beef varied a lot in size, from an 18 piece cow up to a mammoth 67 piece ox. Sheep were always cut in 10 pieces, while venison varied: both deer from the park and highland deer usually made 12 pieces, though little ones might make only eight. Veal and pork occur too infrequently to say how many pieces made up one animal.[16] The beasts were usually slaughtered in November and then salted to last the household till the following summer. In the absence of the family, little meat was eaten, and one mart lasted a very long time. A cow of 30 pieces was started on 14 January 1737 and lasted till 18 March. The next beast, an ox of 45 pieces, was begun on that day and continued till 23 May. The housekeeper does not specify where the beef comes from, but sheep are described either as a mutton or wedder from the park, or as a bought mutton. Deer were also taken from the herd in the park, killed when hunting or sent to the duke as a present.

Oatmeal was commonly used for bread. White flour was mostly reserved for the family's use and was bought from the local merchant in

pecks. English flour, which was the most expensive, was only bought when the duke was in residence, and came from Aberdeen.

Eggs often came along with the kain fowls, or were brought in from the barnyard, or even occasionally bought. Fowls were usually kain fowls, or brought regularly by a woman called the Duffus wife.

The common kind of candle was made on the premises from the tallow left from the slaughtered animals. It was also bought locally, and fine wax candles were bought in Aberdeen. Unless the family was present, the household hardly used candle at all in the summer.

Butter was also bought separately, not from the local merchant; one reason for this may be the fact that the butter mentioned in his accounts is always foul butter for smearing sheep with. During the years 1742-4, Isobel Gordon in Huntly was employed to procure butter for the household; she spent about £12 a year on this. In 1749 butter cost 5s 8d the stone, but in the following year it was charged at 7s.

Some wildfowl was eaten, usually grouse. The duke employed a fowler, and members of the family, particularly Lewis, also went out shooting. Ducks, hares and rabbits hardly ever appear on the menu. There was a pigeonhouse at Gollachie, and the birds were produced in large numbers at table during the summer.

Fruit and vegetables came from the garden and do not appear much in accounts. There was nothing out of the ordinary, apart from pineapples sent from Blair. Lord Breadalbane, in 1778, was eating blaeberries, cranberries and brambles gathered from the countryside.

Fish was consumed a lot by both family and servants, for it was plentiful and cheap. The duke employed a caterer at the shore of Buckie

whose job was to procure and bring fish to Gordon Castle. In addition, a large amount of dried fish was bought to last the household through the winter. This was supplemented by the custom haddock, which was salted for the same purpose. There is a wide variety in the fish provided, including mackerel, skate, trout and salmon, as well as the commoner cod or kilen, ling, finack and whiting.[17] Shellfish was also bought, including crabs, oysters and lobsters, and Cosmo George himself had a liking for dulse.

A perfectly adequate meal could be produced from these items alone, but for the family some additional luxuries were imported. The most common imports into Scotland were sugar, tobacco, cotton, rum, iron, timber, salt, dried fruit and wine, and most of the edibles in this list appear in the Gordon Castle larder or wine cellar. On the whole,[18] ordinary things were bought in Fochabers or Aberdeen, and more exotic items were sent from Edinburgh or London or ordered from abroad.[19] From the accounts of provisions furnished for Gordon Castle it is easy to see why a nobleman's country residence attracted merchants, for such a customer as the Duke of Gordon, with all the orders for large quantities of foodstuffs placed regularly, might make all the difference to a struggling merchant. The laments of the London merchants when the nobility left London in the summer were echoed by the country traders on the annual return to town in the autumn. Many of the accounts show an anxiety to please, and sometimes bear a note indicating that an item has been sent on favourable terms in order to gain further custom.[20]

The Gordon accounts show how wide an area provided items for the household: Holland, London, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Inverness,

Aberdeen and almost every village in Aberdeen and Banff shires.

The orders from Holland were made directly by Alexander or Cosmo George with a Scots merchant in Rotterdam, John Gordon. Linen, dried fruit, spices, tea, wine and wildfowl were all ordered. One order of 1725 cost over £80. This trade dwindled later, after an order of Cosmo George's for £25 worth of goods was shipwrecked.

Much of the London trade was with a London merchant, Peter MacHattie or MacKattie. He supplied Alexander and Cosmo George with goods for over twenty years. Purchases made by the dukes themselves in London will be discussed in a later chapter. Similarly in Edinburgh, Cosmo George often bought things himself when passing through. Most of the sweetmeats came from Thomas Fenton there.

Nearer at hand, the two main sources of supply were Aberdeen and Fochabers. As a port, Aberdeen was conveniently situated and traded with most of Europe as well as America. Most of the clothes were made from materials purchased in Aberdeen, usually bought from James Burnett. The total of his accounts, 1741-51, amounts to £162. Another merchant, George Forbes, younger, sent some very exotic items, including a set of gilt china, a fine carpet, figs, marmalade oranges, pocket pistols and virginals for a child.

Fochabers really owed its continued existence to its position on the ducal doorstep, and the local merchants were all eager to share in the profits. During the period 1730-52, eight merchants there supplied groceries and sundries. Of these, the most frequently patronised was John Grant. In his accounts, the articles sent are arranged under the name of the person, usually an upper servant, who has authorised the

purchase. An account of 1741 gives very full details of this:[21] the duke orders delft dishes and plates, playing cards, brandy and tar for the bonfire to celebrate his marriage, claret and ropes for the boat, while the housekeeper gets sugar, spices and groceries, the cook orders tea and sugar, the secretary asks for nails, the butler for soap, salt, iron, brandy and corks, the underbutler for glasses, the brewer salad oil, the gardener for spades, the wheelwright for nails, spars and glue, two tailors need shalloon, fustian, buttons, thread and silk, the wright wants nails and glue for the tolbooth and the saddler orders ropes and nails.

The housekeeper's parts of these bills are usually the longest, and often consist of only one article on any one day. These odd articles were usually collected by an inferior servant.

Another Fochabers merchant, John Gordon, the curator, combined a career as a merchant with his duties as the duke's curator and commissioner. Naturally he was much patronised as a merchant. His wares were not varied, for the orders consist entirely of groceries, wines and spirits. He also ordered what the family needed though he did not have it in stock: coals from Limekilns, goods from Holland and various kinds of salt. His accounts amount to over £300 mostly for wines and spirits, 1738-52.

Apart from these centres, the household intermittently bought odd items from most of the villages around, but Elgin is not often patronised. This may be explained by a letter from the usual merchant there, Alexander Forsyth, to the housekeeper, regretting that there were no prunes, bacon, hair or chair web in town, and no diaper tape of the right pattern,

nor any good roast beef. Banff was usually patronised for tea, bought from James Duff there who sold peco[22] at 18s, hysson[23] at 12s, sozong[24] at 10s, congou[25] and imperial[26] at 8s and bohea[27] at 5s, all per pound. Coffee was also sold there at 1s 6d the pound.

Once the duke did his own shopping. In passing through Forres he paused to order a sack of English flour, ten dozen lemons and an English cheese.

The peddler was another source of supply. James Glass, who described himself as merchant in Banff, but whose bills are endorsed by Cosmo George as due to James Glass, peddler, often appeared at the castle. Apart from ribbons and muslin, he sold silk handkerchiefs to John Hamilton, pins to Katherine, mace to the housekeeper, and razors and 'a kind of a couteau' to the duke.[28]

This pattern, with essentials supplied by the estate and luxuries imported, is largely repeated in other estates in Moray and Banff. Most of the Seafield imports came from Edinburgh, mainly from one merchant patronised for over twenty years, 1703-26.[29] This man, Alexander Dunbar, sent groceries and other items to Cullen from Leith. There are many odd items supplied including pickled limes, a fine Dutch blue and white lime chamberpot, a glass basket, as well as 'muss' traps and tea. All these things were packed up in hampers and despatched by sea. Seafield spent much of his time in Edinburgh and later in London, and on his visits he usually ordered provisions for Cullen. He despatched wine, garden equipment, candles, waxcloth and books from London, and garden seeds, wainscot, claret, copper and groceries from Edinburgh.

Similarly, the Laird of Grant purchased luxuries on his visits to

London. An undated list of things to be sent to Scotland mentions rice, cinnamon and other spices, sugar, cheese, a hat and tippet for Sophia, and a whip for Delrachnie's wife. Another list called for 650 lb of sugar, 300 lb new raisins and 50 lb of currants, as well as a selection of spices and pickles. The total of this second account was £40.[30]

Further south, estates tended to be less self supporting and traded with a wider area. In 1731, the second earl of Marchmont bought provisions and other necessities from 18 centres including Berwick, Duns, Edinburgh, Newcastle and London. Twenty years later, the third earl has an equally wide field of trade: he sent oatmeal to London, sold barley at Berwick and Eyemouth, beef in Duns, pease at Greenlaw, sent servants to Cessnock and Leith for London, and a bull from Northumberland. In return, he purchased goods from 12 centres, including Leith, London, Berwick and Jedburgh.

At Buchanan, with an absentee landlord, the position was different. The household was small, the provisions monotonous and usually bought in small quantities from neighbouring centres. Loaves came from Edinburgh and Glasgow, beer was purchased from brewers and the meat bought in joints. The staples are the same - eggs, chickens, loaves, barm and meat - but they are used in very small quantities.

The household at Taymouth is an example of an almost completely self supporting entity. Provisions were supplied on a large scale to meet the crowd of guests and Campbell cousins. Livestock was entered from the tenants and kept in the parks until wanted; hens, eggs, butter and cheese were also owed by the tenants and brought in to the chamberlain. Bread was usually baked from the earl's own meal, except for his

his own use, when it was made from imported flour. Salmon and herring came in large numbers from Loch Tay and Glenorchy. Ale was brewed regularly on the premises, and every so often a man came to brew the aquavitae, while candle was made from the tallow of the slaughtered beasts, though this was sent to Dunkeld to be made into candle. The hides were used for servants' shoes as well as stockings for the earl himself. The only household provisions which were bought in were wine, vinegar, condiments, spices, sugar, dried fruit and soap. They were usually brought from Perth or Edinburgh on horseback or by a man on foot if small enough to be carried.

At Hopetoun, the position was quite different. The house is only 12 miles from Edinburgh, and a carrier performed the journey once or twice a week. Purchases could also be made in South Queensferry, which, like Fochabers, was on the doorstep. With a centre so accessible, the supply of food was easier to arrange, and much less was produced at home.

The following details are taken from a household book of 1750-1.[31] Bread was made on the premises usually from oatmeal, coarse and fine flour, as at Gordon Castle, and for the family, loaves were bought in Edinburgh. Beef and lamb comes from animals grazed in the parks. Pork and veal are bought by the pieces, and salt pork is sent by barrel from Aberdeen. Fish comes from the Ferry or Edinburgh, and salt herring by the barrel either from Edinburgh or the west country. The fowler produces wildfowl as at Gordon Castle, and it also arrives regularly about once a fortnight as a present from the duke of Montrose. The huntsman provides hares for the table. Dairy products hardly appear at all, and

oddly, butter and milk do not appear. As usual, eggs are used in very large numbers, either from the henwife or bought from eggwives. Cheese is bought by the stone. The most remarkable thing at Hopetoun is the poultry. The range kept and consumed is very wide. Hens are the staple as usual, with chickens and pigeons in large quantities. But the variety of fowl and duck is surprising. The kinds specified are: Barbary, Guinea, pea and wild fowl, and Muscovy, Gibraltar, black, common, mongrel and unspecified bought ducks. Bantams, geese and turkeys also appear. Ale is spent by the gallon weekly, and presumably brewed on the premises though the household book does not mention this. It is also drunk bottled from Ormiston and so is porter from Edinburgh, and small beer.

A similar book exists for 1741-2.[32] This specifies all the provisions and drinks actually bought but does not indicate when or how they were eaten. As in the later household book, the chief supplies were chickens, eggs, fish, hens and bread. Table 20 gives the totals of the provisions bought during that year, amounting to £231 0s 10d. From this, groceries were the most expensive item on the housekeeper's bills, for meat was supplied by the estate, while tea, sugar and soap had to be bought. It is odd that eggs and butter had to be purchased in quantity.

Prices of provisions remained static for the period, and those at Gordon Castle are very similar to what was paid at Cullen. At Buchanan, things were a little dearer, except fish which was slightly cheaper. Seasonal items or imports vary considerably. Lemons cost 1s 4d a dozen in 1743, though this has risen to 3s 6d in the following year.

Table 21 gives the prices paid at Cullen and Gordon Castle, followed by prices at Hopetoun and Banff.

Once produced on the premises, brought in by tenants or imported, the provisions came under the control of the butler and housekeeper. They each kept a record of expenditure in their own department. The butler was responsible for the outlay of rolls, oat loaves and ale, the staples of diet, and the housekeeper looked after the groceries and provisions in general.

The butler kept his accounts in a series of pantry books, in which he recorded the numbers present at meals and what they ate and drank.[33] All the inservants, some of the outservants, family and visitors were entitled to a daily allowance of loaves, the family, upper servants and guests alone getting rolls made from flour instead of oat loaves. The daily allowance was $1\frac{1}{2}$ loaves and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of ale. Instead of loaves the family ate rolls; Cosmo George usually ate three along with the usual $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of ale, with extra at the bowling green, upstairs, or in the pantry entertaining a few favoured guests. Katherine had three rolls and one pint of ale. The upper servants were given rolls and a loaf, the ration being four rolls to one loaf. In the duke's absence, they were reduced to loaves like the others, for rolls were not baked when he was away. As well as the ration at mealtimes, some servants got extra allowances, and some of the more menial posts, such as kitchen helper, fool and spitboy did not get a seat at table, but were given an allowance of $5\frac{1}{2}$ loaves and $5\frac{1}{2}$ pints of ale to be shared among them and the dogs. Sometimes the dogs were given a loaf to themselves, and the parrot and mews shared a daily roll. The poor also got a daily allowance. Casual visitors

were also fed: tradesmen all day at the castle received the daily allowance, errandbearers were entitled to one loaf and one pint of ale, and boys half of each.

Table 22 shows the numbers of rolls, loaves and gallons of ale consumed per month during 1739-41. Asterisks indicate the duke's presence. The enormous increase in the summer of 1741 is due to the arrival of his bride, when everyone for miles around called to pay their respects and have a good look. Rolls and loaves are counted individually and ale in gallons and pints.

The work of brewer and baker depended on the presence of the family. In the duke's absence, the baker baked loaves about four times a month, and about 12 times when he was at home. Loaves were baked in batches of 192 at a time, the number obtained from one boll of meal. In the absence of the family, smaller quantities were baked: one firlot of meal made 48 loaves and half a boll produced 96. Rolls were baked only for the family: a peck of flour made 48 rolls, and twice this quantity was the amount usually made at once. In the duke's absence, the number of loaves eaten is only about a sixth of what was eaten at Hopetoun, though the numbers are much the same when he was at home. Ale was always brewed 65 gallons at a time; this used four bushels of malt. In the duke's absence, the daily consumption of the whole household was about three-four gallons. So it took some time to work its way through 65 gallons, and this meant that the brewer was only called on once a month. However, with the family in residence, the daily consumption rose to 11-12 gallons, and the brewer was forced to brew weekly. At Drumlanrig in 1695, the Duke of Queensberry calculated that 36 gallons

of two shilling ale and six gallons of small ale would serve the household for a week.

The Cullen household was organised along the same lines. Malt was brewed for ale about once a week, usually two bolls at a time. The bread was baked on the premises, about once in five days, or sometimes less, using a little over a boll of malt at a time. During six months in 1728, 65 bolls of malt were expended, including five to the poor. By 1740-1, both strong ale and small beer are brewed: one boll two firlots meal made 24-30 gallons small beer, and three bolls made 16 gallons strong ale and three gallons small beer. Small beer was usually brewed 30 gallons at a time, and the weekly consumption was between 14 and 27 gallons, usually around 16-22. It was brewed once in ten days or a fortnight.

At Hopetoun, a boll of oatmeal made 240 loaves, so they were probably smaller loaves than those made at Gordon Castle, where a boll made only 192 loaves, unless the measure was different. When the loaves were made of flour, six pecks made 12 loaves. As elsewhere, oat loaves were the staple fare: between 1600 and 2000 a month were used in 1750-1, with 63-92 fine, 37-53 coarse and 4-25 Edinburgh loaves in addition monthly. Similarly at Scone, oat loaves formed a staple of the household's diet, with about 1200 being eaten a month during 1714-15.

All the other provisions were controlled by the housekeeper. She entered her outlays in a series of housekeeper's books, which contain a daily account of provisions consumed. The same books also acted as a record of what had been entered in the larder, and what remained for the following day. As with the butler's accounts, what was eaten depended

on whether the family was present or not. When all the family was in residence the provisions were varied, at least for the first table, but when the servants were left and the family was away they settled glumly down to a prolonged diet of custom haddock and butter. These two items are the staples of the housekeeper's book.

Table 23 shows what was eaten at Gordon Castle, 1739-41.[34] The delicacies are naturally eaten at the first table and the remains given to the upper servants. Apart from the leftovers, the servants were fed on bread, ale and custom haddock, with inferior pieces of meat on the four weekly meat days, the haddock being kept for the three fish days. Similarly at Hopetoun, the servants subsisted on salt beef, cheese and herring, in 1754-5. Here there were three meat days, one cheese and three fish or eggs for the fourth table. The second and third tables lived on the remains from the first table, supplemented with additional beef. They did not apparently have fish, cheese or egg days alone. The meat for the fourth table was always beef. In these lists, the amounts are given for each month. All the entries are single items, except meat which is reckoned in pieces, flour in pecks, candle and butter in pounds, and custom haddock in dozens. For wine, bottles are chopins, with mutchkins being counted as half bottles.

As a comparison, the following table (24) shows what was eaten and drunk at Hopetoun during the year 1750-1.[35] Items are again listed singly, except for fresh beef, venison and mutton in pieces, veal and lamb in quarters, lamp oil, lamp spirits, vinegar, wines and spirits in bottles, salt beef in stones and pounds, cheese in pounds and ounces, mussels and cockles in pecks and unspecified fish in dozens. Sundays

are always omitted at Hopetoun, the totals being lumped in with the previous Saturday.

At Hopetoun during the year, nine oxen, five cows, 23 wedders and 39 ewes were killed for consumption. Rather confusingly, fresh beef is counted by the piece as at Gordon Castle, while salt beef is measured by the stone and pound. When killed, the meat is reckoned by the stone. The weight of oxen is between 30 and 38 stone, so a piece is probably roughly equal to a stone. When an ox of 38 stone was killed in November, nearly 32 stone was salted, and the rest eaten fresh. Later in the same month, an ox of 34 stone was killed and 20 stone was salted. Salt beef is usually kept for servants, or eaten in the pantry. Apart from herring for the servants, both salt and sometimes fresh, the usual fish are cod or codling and haddock, and occasionally whiting, flounders and shellfish. A very wide range of poultry is kept and consumed. Hens and chickens are the staples as usual, between 49 and 122 per month, and pigeons are eaten a lot in the summer. The daily consumption at Hopetoun does not vary much: usually one-two pieces fresh beef, and mutton, with venison and veal occasionally, two-four hens, pigeons in the summer and usually over 100 eggs.

There is a household book for Cullen, showing what the Findlaters ate during 1740-1, and table 25 gives the details.[36] Meat is entered in pieces and everything else in single items. The bottles are chopins, with mutchkins being counted as half bottles.

From these tables of consumption at Gordon Castle, Hopetoun and Cullen, there was most variety and probably most consumed at Hopetoun. Beef was eaten more at Gordon Castle, little at Cullen, while mutton was

available all year round at Hopetoun, though not eaten in spring at Gordon Castle. Venison is eaten most at Gordon Castle, all year round, not at all at Cullen, and only in autumn at Hopetoun. Veal and pork appear little at Gordon Castle, while they figure more prominently all year at Hopetoun. Pig is eaten whole at Cullen, though only bought by the piece elsewhere. Poultry is generally eaten in quantity, but at Gordon Castle, only hens and pigeons appear frequently. Cullen has muscovy ducks, but nothing like the exotic specimens bred and eaten at Hopetoun. Turkeys and geese appear in small quantities at all three houses. They all rely a lot on fish, mostly the common kinds. It is generally used in bulk for servants, though the species varies. At Gordon Castle it is custom haddock, at Hopetoun salt herring, and small unspecified fish at Cullen. Hopetoun has most variety in fish, it being brought from Edinburgh or the Ferry almost every other day. Salmon is not much in evidence anywhere: three times in the year at Hopetoun, once at Cullen in six months, three times at Gordon Castle in 1741, and not at all 1739-40. Eggs are used abundantly at Hopetoun, about five-six times as many as at Gordon Castle, while the number at Cullen is unfortunately not given.

At Scone, the staples are eggs, beef, mutton and poultry. Two complete months, April 1714 and December 1715, are given from a household book, in table 26.[37] The December 1715 list has one oddity, and shows an unexpected hazard which must have annoyed the housekeeper. The usual consumption of legs of mutton during the month is one every three days, until 29 December, when she records eight legs of mutton to the clans; the Jacobite army was encamped in the neighbourhood, and

was presumably demanding mutton with menaces.

Table 27 gives the yearly expenditure of the Lords Rosse at Halkhead, 1712-20.[38] It is not very informative, and merely confirms that the household, like the others, lived mainly on nolt, sheep, hardfish and herring, with a few yearly deer, pigs and veal.

Lord Glenorchy spent much of his time in England, and there are few details of what was eaten at Taymouth. From a larder book of 1743,[39] the family ate loaves of London flour and Perth fine flour; Perth coarse flour was also used, and the inferior servants ate bread made of oatmeal as usual. The malt used for brewing came from Dunbar, Dalkeith and Perth, while cheese and butter were provided by the estate at Finlarig.

The next table (28) gives details of provisions expended during the years 1750-4.[40] From these, there are a number of unusual features, mostly relating to the abundance of game available: deer, kid, blackcock and plovers, which do not appear much elsewhere, though there is surprisingly little salmon eaten. During Breadalbane's visit to Taymouth in 1743, there was a daily consumption of one-two pieces of beef and two-three mutton joints, three-four chickens, two-three wildfowl and $1\frac{1}{2}$ joints of venison. Pork and veal hardly appear at all, and pigeons are very little in evidence.

What the Gordon Castle household ate still depended on the season. Salt meat was eaten all through the winter and well into the following summer till the supply was exhausted. In 1738, the household was still eating last year's marts in the beginning of August, along with the fresh meat which first appeared in April. By the end of August they had finished

off the salt meat, and continued to subsist on fresh till the following November, when the new season's supply was salted down. Beef and mutton for the family only, appear on the menu every day, including Friday. Candle was little used in the summer, as the household got up at dawn, and went to bed when the light failed. During 1738, candle disappears from the accounts from the end of June, and does not appear regularly again until the end of August.

There are occasional references in the Gordon Castle household books showing how the provisions were cooked. Powdered sugar was used for biscuits, apple pie and plum cake, butter and currants for wigs[41] and cakes, kitchen sugar for tarts, raisins were given to the children, Henrietta drank broth made from beef or chickens, and eggs were occasionally eaten at breakfast. When Mary was at home in 1738, she often had chicken broth, probably made from kain hens. Venison was made into collops and pasties. The usual breakfast fare of bread and ale was sometimes augmented by butter and eggs. Milk appears very seldom: when young, Cosmo George's sisters were given it to drink, and it was used for biscuits.

At Hopetoun there are menus in the household books, 1754-6.[42] From these, the meals were fairly simple, usually two courses with a remove in the middle. Occasionally there was additional food on a by-table. Later in the century this was also done at Dalkeith. At Hopetoun, the first course was usually soup (turnip or celery if vegetable, hare soup or various broths - giblet, rice or barley), some form of offal (ox kidneys lamb's head, tripe, cow heel, pluck, veal's fries, pig's face, sheep's head, deer's head, or pig's pettitoes), a substantial piece of

of meat (boiled round of beef, quarter of lamb roasted, loin of lamb, stewed breast of beef, sirloin, leg of veal, spare rib of beef, roast pork, stewed brisket of beef or boiled pork), poultry in some form (usually chicken or game). The remove was usually fish or sometimes tripe if offal had not already appeared in the first course. The second course contained game if it had not already appeared (hare, turkey, goose, roast fowl), fish if not on the table as a remove (lobster, scalloped oysters, braised perches, flounders, boiled haddocks, sea cat, or, once, hard fish), vegetables (potatoes only occasionally, more often the inevitable turnips or savoys, or celery, Jerusalem artichokes, cabbages or greens), and a pudding, though this was infrequent (rice, baked sago, or fruit, usually stewed apples, or even bread and milk). Table 29 gives what was eaten in December 1755. From this list, which gives the number of times in the month when each article appears, it sounds as if the Hopes enjoyed a varied diet. Menus for supper are seldom given. One such menu for 2 December 1754 was, water souchy, roast turnips, fricassee of oysters, barley and currants, ox puddings, apple tarts and broiled chickens. From this, the suppers at Hopetoun were almost as substantial as the dinners, which is not always the case elsewhere.

There is little to show what the Duke of Montrose ate at Buchanan. When he was there the household bills rose dramatically, and quantities of game and poultry are purchased in addition to the usual staples, while fish is sent from Edinburgh and fruit bought locally. Vegetables include asparagus and mushrooms. Cakes and biscuits appear infrequently, apart from the odd purchase of shortbread and currant buns.

At Taymouth, the housekeeping bills are given weekly, and show the enormous amounts of food consumed there in the time of the first earl of Breadalbane. The butler was in charge of the housekeeping here, and usually recorded the daily list of family, visitors and servants, but sometimes he lost patience and shortened matters by recording merely 'and other comers and gangers'. Here the new year or the new century was celebrated in a big way, though Christmas was ignored; the amount of food consumed in the week 30 December 1699 to 6 January 1700 is startling: 1025 loaves, 18 gallons of strong ale, 53½ gallons table and small ale, four wedders, 18 stone butter, 44 capons and hens, with other poultry, 8½ stone cheese and 70 pieces of beef, with other provisions too.[43] That week was a record, but normally too provisions were on a large scale: herring were entered in thousands at a time, kilen and ling in hundreds, eggs up to 24 dozen at once, and for most of the year a cow is entered fresh once a week and consumed in the same space.

Like the Gordon Castle household, the Taymouth establishment ate braxy without apparent protest. A cow once died at Finlarig and was brought to Taymouth, broken into 20 pieces and eaten as usual. When chickens died on the journey they were eaten on the day of arrival at Taymouth, and so was a goose smothered by its fellows, and a sheep killed by a fox. In 1704, a sheep which had died of scab was entered and apparently eaten. Similarly, at Marchmont, a diseased ewe was killed and the edible parts of the animal sold.

There are few surviving lists of menus, and none at all for Gordon Castle. However, apart from the Hopetoun menus already discussed,

there are some for Breadalbane in Edinburgh in 1695,[44] Montagu at Boughton in 1725,[45] Buccleuch at Dalkeith in 1734,[46] Roxburghe at Floors in 1724[47] and Castle Grant in 1773.[48] From these menus (apart from the Boughton ones, which are much more elaborate), the same sort of food was generally eaten.

Beginning with the Breadalbane menus in 1695: offal was eaten frequently (lures, lamb's head and harrigals, veal's head and feet, sheep's head and two 'gang' of feet, tongues and lamb's kernals). When Queensberry and Morton were among the guests, the menu included a leg of mutton, two lures and haunches, hens, chickens, pigeons, wildfowl, beef broth and oysters, but when Argyll came to dinner he was regaled on skink and sausages. Other delicacies mentioned include solan geese, spinach and lark pies.

Menus for dinner and supper for a fortnight in May-June 1724 survive for Floors. Here, supper is more varied, and dinner may have two courses and a remove like Hopetoun, or just one course. The menus are given in table 30. From this dinner usually consists of roast meat and chickens, soup, hare broth or chicken broth, salmon and trout, with an occasional pudding (gooseberry tart or a cream), while the vegetables served include asparagus and spinach. Supper is a simpler meal, with milk and toast appearing frequently, along with more substantial fare such as boiled chickens, beef collops, roast pigeons, eggs and, occasionally, a vegetable. The servants' dinner is also listed: usually meat and sometimes eggs or salmon. Floors is the only place noted where salmon really was given to the servants, but with the Tweed nearby, it was a practical proposition.

The Castle Grant menus are later, and remarkably similar. Offal still appears in very large quantities, including tripe, cow heel, haggis, cheats and neirs,[49] giblet pie, potted head and ox cheek. Supper is made up from what was left at dinner, with the addition of cheesecakes, toasted cheese and potatoes. The nursery gets the plainer items on the menu and servants eat the cheaper cuts of meat.

In 1712, the Duke of Atholl and family were eating very similar food at dinner, but the suppers sound more modern.[50] The menus given in table 31 include boiled mutton, poached eggs, spinach, gooseberry fool and milk, or boiled chickens, buttered eggs, collops, roast mutton, cold capons, spinach, tarts and milk. Here the servants usually dine on venison.

The menus at Boughton are very much more elaborate: table 32 gives a typical menu for 12 August 1725, when there were only a few guests. This demonstrates that the inferior tables ate the remains from the duke's table, supplemented by plain pieces of meat.

There is an interesting book containing the menus at Dalkeith House in 1734 when the Duke of Buccleuch was living there. The dinner menus alone are given, and the cook also notes when the family dines out. Table 32 also shows an unusually elaborate dinner, 6 June 1734, when each course had a remove, and details are given of how the meal was laid out on the table. The guests included the Duchess of Leeds, Lady Charlotte Hamilton and Lady Morton among the 11 guests. From the spelling in this cook's book, he was probably French.

By the beginning of the 18th century, ale, wine and spirits were all extensively drunk. All the household drank ale at breakfast, and

throughout the day, for barley was grown in most counties and was used for ale, beer and whisky. Wines and spirits were imported from various countries, mainly France, Spain and Madeira. Claret was still the most popular drink, and was drunk by all classes, either vintage or thin cheap claret. Madeira was also popular and expensive, though port was little used till the end of the century.[51] Spirits were not imported so extensively, and brandy might be smuggled. Rum was not much esteemed, while punch could be made with French brandy instead. Arrack came from Lisbon and whisky was still made cheaply at home in the highlands, and little drunk elsewhere.

As a result, a large proportion of the household expenditure was on wines and spirits. Nearly a quarter of Lady Grisel Baillie's bills were for alcohol, and the largest item among Monymusk's disbursements in 1738 was his wine bill.

During Alexander's lifetime, the Gordon Castle cellar was not well filled, for he himself was abstemious, and Henrietta continued this tradition after his death. In 1728, the cellar contained only 450 bottles white wine, 138 claret, 34 pontack and a few bottles of spirits, all chopin bottles.[52] This meant that additional supplies had to be bought for the duke's funeral, amounting in all to 620 bottles of claret and 48 sherry.

In spite of this upbringing, Cosmo George seriously alarmed his relatives by the amount he drank in youth, and though he did not end his days in a mental home as they prophesied, his cellar was considerably enlarged. Most of his purchases were from John Gordon, the curator, who supplied ankers of brandy at 45s, claret at 15 guineas the hogshead,

sherry at 14 guineas the hogshead, rum at £3 the anker, and various bottles of claret, burgundy and white wine, as well as champagne at 3s 6d the bottle.

Other wine merchants patronised included James Cowan in Leith, who sold hogsheads of Chateau Margaux claret at £20 each. Transport of this wine was troublesome, for it had to be taken in the barrel from Edinburgh to Leith, and bottled there, a hogshead needing 23 dozen long necked bottles at 1s 11d the dozen, and 24 dozen corks at 5s. The bottles were then sent off by sea to Gordon Castle. This was in 1741, and in the following year, two more hogsheads of the same claret were ordered, then costing 25 guineas each, along with four hogsheads of an inferior claret at only 18 guineas the hogshead. The total charge amounted to £186.[53]

Lord Rothes also bought his wine in hogsheads, usually from Patrick Yeaman in Edinburgh. Yeaman charged £18-£20 per hogshead, though the chateau is not mentioned, and sometimes supplied the bottles too: one hogshead bought in 1751 needed 24 dozen bottles, noted as pint bottles, at 4s the dozen. Sometimes Rothes bought the bottles separately, as in 1765, when he patronised the Edinburgh Glass House and bought 50 dozen long necked bottles, costing £5 4s 2d, and six dozen pint bottles at £1 3s.[54]

While the bulk of the Gordon Castle orders went either to John Gordon in Fochabers or Cowan in Edinburgh, smaller orders were placed in various places around, including both Elgin and Banff. Claret was cheaper in Banff, only 12 guineas the hogshead, though carriage to Gordon Castle, involving five horses at 2d a mile each, amounted to an

extra 13s 4d. More unusual wines and spirits could be bought in Aberdeen, and odd samples as tasters were sent from there before a large order was placed. Goa and Batavia arrack both came at once from Aberdeen, and as the bottles were opaque and wine labels unheard of, the merchant thoughtfully sealed one kind of arrack with black wax and the other with red.

When wine was bought by the hogshead, it was sometimes sold along with the necessary bottles, but on other occasions bottles were bought separately. Once Sir Ludovick Grant ordered a quantity from Newcastle: 96 dozen champagne quart bottles, 12 dozen champagne pint bottles, and 12 dozen bottles, the whole order costing £12. However, the vessel sank with its cargo, and replacements had to be sent.[55]

As a result of the wine being purchased in hogsheads, there seem to be bottles scattered all over Gordon Castle. In 1728, there were even some empty bottles in the girls' nursery. Two years later the house contained 108 dozen chopin and 8 dozen mutchkin bottles. This sounds a lot, but it would only hold the contents of five hogsheads. An inventory of the contents of the cellar at Gordon Castle in 1747 shows that its contents have been augmented since Cosmo George grew up. New varieties include canary, frontinac, lemon brandy, baraba,[56] and tent wine, and the better established wines, especially claret, appear in larger quantities. The housekeeper who drew up the 1747 list recorded that she could only guess at the numbers of bottles of claret, as the secretary would not allow her to move the bottles which were laid on their sides, for fear of spoiling the wine.[57] As well as the claret already bottled, there were another two hogsheads still in barrels.

The cellar was sometimes in the charge of the butler and sometimes under the housekeeper. The butler was rather slack about recording what was consumed, though he once made a note that in August 1738, the totals were 173 claret and 18 white wine, the latter being used for syllabubs. Consumption is recorded much better when the housekeeper took over the cellar. Table 33 shows what was drunk during six months in 1749-50.[58] From this, claret is still the most popular drink, followed by sherry (or lisbon) and madeira, then white wine and rhenish. It is odd that champagne is not on the list. Whisky was not reckoned as a drink worthy of space in the cellar, as it was bought very cheaply along with the groceries.

At Hopetoun in 1742, Lord Hopetoun made a list of the wines and spirits he had bought during the year: five hogsheads of sherry, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads white wine, half a pipe of canary, some dozen of bottles of claret, old hock and madeira, and a few pints of rum and brandy.[59] By 1750-1, the emphasis has shifted, for claret is most often drunk, followed by sherry, and there are only occasional references to madeira, white wine, malaga and punch. From the Hopetoun household book of 1750-1, detailed in table 24, claret again leads, with lisbon second, both wines being drunk in large quantities, between one and four bottles of claret and one-two bottles of lisbon daily. The other wines and spirits are only drunk in very small quantities.

Again, at Cullen, from the household book of 1740-1 (given in table 25), claret is most often drunk, a bottle or half bottle daily, followed by lisbon in almost equal quantities. Here port is drunk, unlike Gordon Castle or Hopetoun, though only in small amounts.

There is also a cellar book for Taymouth, 1750-1, but not a detailed one.[60] During the six months June-November 1750, the following amounts were drunk: 256 claret, 136 madeira, 128 calcavella,[61] 104 cider, 50 port and 21 mamsell madeira,[62] along with 13 pints of shrub and nine pints of rum. From this, claret again leads, and port appears once more, though there is no mention of sherry. Breadalbane or members of his family usually drank a daily bottle of port and another of madeira. Ale appears in wider variety than at Gordon Castle, including two kinds of Stafford ale, Harg's ale, London porter and two kinds of cider. By 1755, the Taymouth cellar contained 21 dozen bottles of claret, ordinary kind, and 26 dozen best claret.

A cellar book for Cullen exists from 1799, though it is rather late to be a useful comparison.[63] It shows the growing popularity of port, and the dwindling sales of claret. As at Gordon Castle, ailing animals were dosed with spirits, and servants were given drink when ill. A 'poor bedrid woman in Cullen' received bottles of port quite regularly, while odd jobs round the house, which at Gordon Castle 50 years earlier would have been rewarded with ale, were here ameliorated with gin: maids washing blankets, servants cleaning plate, washing stairs and passages or covering jelly, were often given a bottle of gin and sometimes porter as well. The only figures found for Castle Grant are also too late, dating only from 1788, when sherry is the most popular drink, followed by claret, madeira and port.[64]

CHAPTER 5

OCCUPATIONS IN THE COUNTRY, CLOTHES AND MEDICINE

There was always plenty to do in the country, and a landlord in easy circumstances could usually pass his time pleasantly at home on his estate. While Cosmo George left the management to his commissioner and factors, he took a sporadic interest and at any rate, when at Gordon Castle, signed the precepts for payments to tenants and servants. Residence on one's estate was the fashionable way of spending the summer, just as the London season was essential in the winter.

When in the country, an English country gentleman had a choice of pursuits, 'races and cricket, shooting and fishing, at dinner, dances, cards and the strolling players'.[1] Scottish gentlemen had as wide a choice, though cricket and the strolling players were usually absent, but they could be replaced by hawking, bowling and sailing. Even a southerner could be moved to protest that things in Scotland were not as dull as they had been painted: when James, duke of York, visited Scotland in 1679-80 as High Commissioner, he wrote to say 'I assure you that we do here not passe our tyme so ill as you in England think we do for we have plays, ride abroad when tis good weather, play at Bassett and have a great dele of good company', though perhaps he protests too much, for he adds 'but for all that one wishes one self with ones friends at London'.[2] All these pursuits were engaged in by Cosmo George when at Gordon Castle or Huntly.

There was a longstanding horse race on Huntly Muir for the Huntly plate, presented annually by the duke of Gordon. Usually the prize was a sword made by an Edinburgh goldsmith. The numbers entered varied: in 1732 there were four horses, all owned by local men - George Gordon of Buckie (black mare), Sir William Gordon of Lesmoir (chestnut galloway), Thomas MacDonald, writer in Drumlithie (chestnut stallion), and James Brown, writer in Huntly (grey galloway). There was another similar race at Charlestown at the time of the Michael fair patronised by Lord Aboyne, who presented the prizes: the foot race prizes were a Glasgow bonnet, four ells tartan, red ribbons and a pair of shoes, and the horse race prize was a saddle. The Huntly race was a bigger affair, and the prizes were much more expensive. The surviving examples are engraved with Jacobite emblems, and the race was probably the occasion for some plotting.[3] With the accession of a Protestant duke, interest in the race dwindled, and from 1735, when Cosmo George was away, accounts for the plate cease. In 1749 however the race was revived, and the prize on this occasion was a purse containing 50 guineas. This was a special event, and the race was advertised in the Edinburgh papers, and was attended by the local gentry and visitors. Only two horses were entered, one belonging to Cosmo George and the other to Francis Charteris of Amisfield, his brother in law, and the latter won. The ducal party moved over to Huntly Lodge for the occasion, and the race was followed by a dinner and a ball in Huntly Castle.[4]

Both Alexander and Cosmo George were keen fishers, as they might well be with the Spey on the other side of their park wall. Alexander owned a wide variety of rods, creels and aprons. Cosmo George's were

usually bought from James Farquhar in Edinburgh, who supplied various hooks, lines and flies. There are no records to show if either Alexander or Cosmo George caught much, but it was certainly not enough to supply the household.

Cosmo George also owned a pleasure boat. A tailor spent two days in 1741 making a sail for it, and it was being repaired in 1745-6. Similarly, the Breadalbanes had boats, the first earl's being called a birlin, that is, a large rowing boat, usually without sails, generally used by chieftains in the western isles, and the third earl's a barge.

Hawking was still a very popular pastime. Alexander had a falconer, at one point indeed he employed two, and although this post as a full time job disappears during Cosmo George's minority, the sport continued. Alexander exported hawks in numbers, some as far as Tuscany, though they usually died on the way.[5] Flying the birds was expensive owing to the accessories needed to make them perform. Alexander bought these in London; an account of 1710 mentions hoods for falcon, tiercel and goshawk, with bells, jesses, leashes and lures. The hawks were usually caught in the Glenmore forest by the forester. On the journey to Gordon Castle they were fed on hens, though once a whole wedder was purchased. Hawks were also bought: Cosmo George gave 2s for two sparrowhawks, and a shilling for a hawk from Badenoch.[6] At the castle, the birds were kept in a hawkhouse, from which they tended to escape. When used, the party usually went to Huntly, where the country was more suitable for the sport. Other local lairds kept hawks too, for Alexander mentions tipping falconers belonging to Braco, Haddo, Dunbar of Thunderton and Findlater. He also borrowed hawks from the last named;

once he wrote to him, having borrowed two birds, explaining ingenuously that he was returning a tiercel but keeping the other as it was a good one.

Alexander and Cosmo George were both fond of dogs, and there were a good many permanently underfoot at the castle.[7] They also accompanied their fond owner when visiting: when Cosmo George was staying in Edinburgh in 1745, he had six dogs with him, which were boarded out with a stabler in the Canongate. At home, the favoured dogs got bread, while the others subsisted on oatmeal.[8] They had a boy to look after them, and slept in the dog house, a slated building with two windows. Pet dogs slept in the house; Katherine's bedroom closet contained a cushion for a pet dog. They also had their own collars, of brass, hair, leather or silver.[9] In the duke's absence, the dogs were boarded out. Sometimes they were a nuisance: in 1742 a dog called Neptune killed a lamb, and a few years earlier a bitch called Mally killed a couple of sheep.[10] On both occasions the owners of the sheep had to be recompensed. Once a dog called Arno was the subject of a disagreement between John Hay in Allanbuiy and John Gordon, the butler. Hay claimed 40s for training the dog, and John Gordon admitted this, but refused to pay on the grounds that the animal was not properly trained. Other named dogs are Petit, Snap, Nero, Ordifish and Jeannie. Apart from hounds, greyhounds and beagles, the breeds of the pet dogs are unknown.[11] The Marchmonts had a dog called Mars, while John, lord Hope, in 1735-6, owned dogs called Sambo and Bumper, both setting dogs, and in 1743 he had another setting dog called Pompey.

There was also a parrot in the castle, which received a daily allowance of half a roll. It did not accompany the family to Edinburgh and

London, but remained at home in its white iron cage. The children, Cosmo George and his brothers and sisters, had pet birds, and it seems likely that they were sometimes blackbirds and larks, for Alexander bought cages for these birds on a visit to London in 1720. As well as these poor captives, there was a whole aviary of birds in the garden, including pheasants, peacocks, sheldrakes, swans and ducks. Less attractive pets included ferrets, which may have been for use, and were fed on bread and milk, a goat with a collar, and a fox in a cage. Similarly other families had pets, such as deer and rabbits, and once a pet mouse.

In addition to the tame deer, which was forever escaping and having to be recaptured, there was a herd of deer in the park, as at Inveraray, Broxmouth and Hopetoun. These were both for ornament and use in the kitchen. The number in the Gordon Castle park varied depending on the season, and probably the patience of the counter, who tended to note in the inventories that the numbers were conjectural.

Wild deer were also hunted, and so were hares. Wildfowl were plentiful and the family were keen fowlers, especially Lewis. At his death Cosmo George owned 18 fowling pieces, as well as blunderbusses and pistols. This is a change from the contents of his father's gunpress, which contained 'business' guns for Sheriffmuir rather than the muirfowl.[12]

Other outdoor entertainments included bowls, skittles, ninepins and golf. There was a bowling green[13] when Cosmo George played with his family and friends, wagering small sums at the game. There was also a ninepin alley.[14] Golf is only mentioned once or twice; Cosmo George certainly played in Holland, and he and Charles bought golf clubs and

balls in Edinburgh to be sent to Gordon Castle.

Indoor entertainments were much the same in town or country - cards, dinners, billiards and dancing. There was a billiard room at the castle, with a table, clubs, cues and balls.[15] Alexander and Cosmo George both played cards a lot. Alexander waged only small sums, but, at least in his youth, Cosmo George lost a lot of money. At Gordon Castle there was a cardtable made in Ellon, with backgammon and chess tables beneath it, as well as other plainer card tables and a quadrille table. Ombre was also played. Cards were bought along with the groceries in Fochabers, three or six packs at a time. These cost only $1\frac{1}{2}$d-2d a pack, but occasionally more expensive English cards were supplied at 2s for a pair, or moguls were sent for from Edinburgh at 1s 2d per pack.[16] Dice were also bought frequently. Lord Annandale's occupations can be guessed at from his purchase of counters of agate, silver and ivory, along with ivory fish, spectacles and a reading glass.

More educational entertainment was provided by two telescopes and a terrestrial globe in the library. Cosmo George bought another telescope in 1735 from James Short in Aberdeen.

The children had lessons in dancing and fencing, though there is no mention of music lessons.[17] Henrietta owned a spinet and there was also a harpsichord at the castle. Cosmo George himself played the flute. He had lessons when in the low countries in 1736-7 and, from the number of broken flutes, must have practised with enthusiasm but not skill.[18] Most of his instruments were German, transverse, flutes. Those bought in Edinburgh were by Schuchart[19] and Bizey.[20] On his marriage, the frenzy seems to have left him, for there are no further flutes bought.

Any big house was frequented by itinerant musicians and entertainers. A variety of such people arrived at the Gordon Castle gates, and some of them were admitted to play or entertain the family. Those mentioned in accounts include a juggler calling himself Gordon, a rope dancer, a company of tumblers and singers, a harper and several pipers.

Like other people, Cosmo George took snuff. His was usually bought in Edinburgh, where scented rappee cost 4s 6d per pound with the canister. Ornamental snuff boxes were popular, and the duke owned a variety, ranging between a box with a print of the fortune teller on the lid at 1s 6d, to a fine gold box costing £12 1s 6d. Some of these boxes sound most attractive, especially the silver box with a moving picture, and a very fine gilt japanned one in the Dresden fashion. Associated with these items were toothpicks and toothpick cases, in a variety of materials.

When the estate palled, there was entertainment to be found at a sale. On New Year's day 1750, the effects of the late Captain Poyntz were auctioned in Elgin, and Cosmo George purchased a sword, a gold watch, fishing tackle, some books and a couple of horses.

When all else failed there were always the newspapers. These came mostly from Edinburgh: Cosmo George took the Caledonian Mercury, 1738-45, and also when staying in Edinburgh, and the Edinburgh Courant, 1742-5, and 1748-52. The Aberdeen Journal was also sent from Aberdeen.

Both Alexander and Cosmo George kept accounts of their petty cash. Cosmo George's are only kept during his youth, while Alexander's cover most of his adult life from the time of his marriage, though Cosmo George's are more detailed. Table 34 gives a quotation from his pocket

book for the six months of 1738 which were spent at Gordon Castle. From this specimen he was leading a busy life - gambling with Lord Doune, visiting his sister at Kelly, as well as short trips to Udny, Huntly and the Boyne, playing bowls, eating salmon, visiting ships at Garmouth, attending chapel punctiliously, and assisting his younger brothers and sisters most generously.

The previous pages have dealt with masculine pursuits on the whole, though cards, music and dancing were naturally shared. A detailed account of how ladies occupied themselves a little later in the century is given in a letter from Lady Polwarth to her mother written about 1772.[21] This letter relates how the writer and Lady Marchmont, her mother in law, spent their day at Marchmont House: they rise between seven and eight, breakfast at nine, and Lady Polwarth either has an hour to herself or, when there is company, they sit in Lady Marchmont's dressing room, and sometimes Lady Polwarth brings her drawing. At eleven they go out for an airing, walking if the weather permits, and do not return to the house till past one. They dine at three, drink tea at six, and then go out for another walk if it is dry. If there is company they play pope joan later, or if not, Lord Polwarth and a friend play chess or billiards. This thoroughly idle existence was probably not exactly followed by either Henrietta or Katherine Gordon. They both had husbands who were bored by estate matters and were frequently from home, so that both ladies were probably well occupied in running the estate, the castle and their children. They both embroidered, and Henrietta in particular had vivid tastes, for one account for worsted mentions wool in scarlet, orange, green and hair colour. Katherine was

not an adventurous needlewoman, for she bought canvas with the design already traced upon it for her to fill in. Henrietta was also a keen purchaser of books and presumably played the spinet, at least one was bought for her. Her daughters were made to embroider samplers.

Lady Blantyre, widow of Robert, seventh lord Blantyre, who survived her husband for nearly 40 years, was left with a large family to bring up, as Henrietta was, but her energies, in more straitened circumstances, turned naturally to housekeeping and domestic cares. Her account books, kept for the years 1753-62, show her and her family in Edinburgh or at Lennoxlove and Elphinstone, supervising the cook, ordering provisions from London and elsewhere, engaging servants, and supervising the education and pleasures of her children.[22] Her concern for domestic detail is shown by the purchase of a jelly bag of swanskin, strawberries for jam, oysters for pickling, gooseberries for preserving and bottling, and white currants for currant wine. Friends and relations sent presents of food, including partridges from Lord Aberdour, salmon from Erskine and various comestibles, including pigeons, from Lennoxlove. Orders from London were usually groceries and spices, hams and apples, while salt butter came from Gourock and herrings from the west. Other imports included lemons and chests of both bitter and sweet oranges. Marmalade, however, was also purchased by the pot. Lady Blantyre was charitable, and records small doles to various persons including Blind Jock, Irish pipers, blind persons and beggars. She also put a guinea in the plate at the Episcopal meeting house at Easter and Christmas. As usual, tea varies in cost: in 1755, bohea varied between 6s 6d and 10s 6d, and green tea cost 13s-14s. Coffee was much cheaper

at 1s 6d, all per pound. Apart from housekeeping expenses, Lady Blantyre's money was spent mainly on her children; James and Charles, the two younger boys, and Betty, her youngest daughter, appear most frequently. James finishes his Edinburgh education in 1754, and is despatched to Holland; Charles attends the High School, with extra writing lessons, and Betty is given writing lessons too. They all go to dancing lessons, balls, the assembly and plays. They are attended when ill by Sir Stuart Threipland, and have teeth removed when necessary at half a guinea a time. Lottery tickets are bought for them, Charles is given a fishing rod, and Betty a silver thimble. Betty's clothes are also given in some detail: dimity under petticoats, knit thread stockings, double lawn handkerchiefs, a black cardinal or cloak, a grey nightgown, blue ribbons, black stuff shoes, a yellow and white nightgown, an apron and a pair of mitts, are all bought for her in 1757-8. On her marriage in 1760, Lady Blantyre buys her a white satin petticoat and a pair of pockets, a white gown, white satin shoes, cotton stockings and six holland shifts. Wages were much as usual: butler £5, cook £4, coachman £3 6s 8d, footman £3, tailor £3, postilion and undercook £2 each. They also had allowances for shoes, aprons and stockings.

While clothes in the latest fashion were bought on visits to Edinburgh or London, the duke and his relations had many of their clothes made by local tailors in Fochabers and around, usually made from materials bought in Elgin or Aberdeen.

Clothes made locally fall into three categories - formal, casual and highland dress. Formal clothes, such as those made in London, were elaborate and made of expensive material, mounted with gold or silver

lace, worn with silk stockings, embroidered waistcoats, and the star of any order held.

For casual occasions, 'undress' was worn, which was less constricting: a frock instead of a stiff coat, and a nightgown, which was worn indoors in the daytime, along with a cap or turban instead of a wig. Alexander's nightgown was of calico, and Cosmo George had one of Indian dimity chintz, while Archibald, first duke of Argyll, owned one made out of a highland plaid. Alexander had also a variety of nightcaps for informal occasions: two of Marseilles quilting, and another quilted one embroidered in silk with flowers. A sleeved waistcoat could be worn instead of a coat, or a frock. Alexander's frock sounds very utilitarian indeed, for it was made of thickset mounted with grey, and he also owned a pair of ticking breeches. Cosmo George's frocks were more attractive: one of brown camblet for the warm weather, and another of white barragon (a kind of fustian), as well as a more formal one made in France, of a mixture of silk and hair, with silver buttons and mounted with a star.

Both Alexander and Cosmo George wore highland dress on occasion. Alexander possessed a highland coat with silver mounting, a pair of trews, a tartan shoulder belt and a pair of cuffs for a highland coat. Cosmo George's highland clothes included a tartan highland coat, two pairs of trews and three kilts, one laced and two little ones.[23] There are a few surviving accounts for making highland clothes, usually by Duncan McDonnell in Fochabers. His productions include a short coat and trews for Gordon of Hallhead in 1741, at 4s for the making and 1s extra for tartan to make the trews. A year later McDonnell supplied

Hallhead with $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of tartan by the duke's orders, and in 1745 he provided five yards of tartan plaid at 1s 2d the yard for a horse sheet. There is also an undated account for making three pairs of trews by the duke's orders, taking six yards of tartan for the three pairs at 1s 8d the yard, with two ells of linen for lining, and an extra 3s for making them up. Alexander frequently bought tartan. In 1710, an Edinburgh tailor made him a horse sheet of tartan, and in the following year, purchases at St Andrew's fair in Elgin included four yards of tartan sheeting at 1s 3d the yard, along with cows, flour and paper. Two years later, Alexander ordered payment to be made for two pairs of highland plaids at £2 6s 8d for both pairs. In 1715, when preparing to join the Jacobite rising, he bought tartan plaids to outfit his followers, paying 30s for one of them. Once when in London, Henrietta sent him by request 24 yards of tartan costing £7 4s.

No accounts have been found for any highland clothes made for Alexander himself, though from the items already mentioned, which appear in a list of his possessions in 1726, he certainly wore highland dress on occasion. There is only one account for making highland clothes for Cosmo George, due to McDonnell, for a pair of trews and hosen in 1742, for which he charged 1s 6d for making.

Neither Alexander nor Cosmo George appear in highland dress in their portraits, though there is an Allan Ramsay of Francis Charteris, fifth earl of Wemyss, and Katherine Gordon, his wife (Cosmo George's sister), which shows the earl in tartan jacket and gartered trews of a black and red check, and a belted plaid of red and blue check, with a blue bonnet.[24] There is also a portrait of James, duke of Perth, who was

rumoured to be engaged to another of Cosmo George's sisters, Betty, in a similar dress, a gold laced tartan coat of the same tartan as his plaid, and trews in the same colours but a different pattern.[25] Lord Banff, who died in 1738, owned a tartan waistcoat mounted with gold lace, which he wore with a plain blue frock, lined in yellow silk, and velvet breeches, and in 1724 Lord Annandale had a suit of highland clothes, with silver lace and buttons, and a highland plaid.

There were three tailors in Fochabers, and they were all extensively patronised by the household at Gordon Castle. They were versatile workers, and as well as tailoring, they were prepared to lay carpets, make curtains and repair upholstery when required.

One of these men, James Anderson, worked for the family for over 20 years. Henrietta employed him a good deal when the children were young. In one bill of 1729, he made clothes for Henrietta herself, and her nine children, as well as making clothes for servants (including a suit of highland clothes for a man going to enlist in the king of Prussia's army), upholstering a chair, working at hangings and curtains, and making a quilt for the duke. Henrietta obviously found Anderson useful, but she was not going to be imposed on, and when the tutor pointed out that she was being overcharged she added a note to the bill, ordering payment at the usual price, thus saving 2s 6d.[26] Alexander was on occasion equally economical: once in 1727, when a woman was employed to make buttons for Charles, she charged 1s 3d for four dozen buttons, and Alexander noted crossly on the bill, 'extravagant and not to be employed'.[27] Anderson often added the cost of the material to the bill for tailoring, so presumably he supplied the cloth as well. Twenty years

later, Katherine was still employing him to make clothes for her children.

Another Fochabers tailor, Robert Cowie, did a good deal of the necessary mending. His accounts are full of entries like 'helping a pair of cloth and leather breeches 1s', 'helping a scarlet laced vest and a pair of breeches 6d', and 'turning a riding coat 3s'. Sometimes Janet Robertson, his wife, was employed to make shirts. Duncan McDonnell, the third tailor, was less patronised by the family. He specialised in highland clothes, and was also employed by the female members of the family. Occasionally another tailor appears: in 1750, George Cruikshank made Cosmo George a hussar's cloak at 10s, but this is unusual.

The materials used came mostly from James Burnett in Aberdeen and Alexander Forsyth in Elgin. They were both general merchants, and supplied other household goods too. Burnett tended to sell the more expensive items, but Forsyth, being nearer, was patronised more often.

In 1740, Robert Cowie, the tailor, was commissioned by Cosmo George to buy material and make him a suit. This was an important order and Cowie went to buy the materials in Elgin himself. His account follows in table 35.[28] The total cost of materials for the suit, blue cloth coat with velvet collar, scarlet breeches and gold trimmed waistcoat, was £9 10s 6d, and Cowie charged another 8s 3d for making it up. To compare with this suit, the same table gives the account for a suit made by Peter Leitch for Sir James Grant of Grant in 1731. This suit was of hair coloured camblet with a flowered waistcoat, the latter edged with lace. The total for materials was £8 17s 2d, with 18s for tailoring, and Sir James paid it three years later.[29]

Burnett in Aberdeen seems to have specialised in accessories.

Gold lace, chain and buttons for hats came from him, and so did the hats themselves, stockings and handkerchiefs.

John Grant, the general merchant in Fochabers, also sold materials for clothes, and was quite often patronised. In 1740, he supplied the duke cloth for a big coat, taking $3\frac{3}{4}$ yards of cloth, as well as shalloon for lining, thread, buckram, wadding, binding and stay tape, sewing silk and silked hair. A few weeks later, Grant provided the cloth for a similar greatcoat made at Cosmo George's expense for the landlord of the Fochabers inn. Most of these accounts are quite clear, but there is one odd one, for something described as a persian habit made for Cosmo George in 1732, when he was 12, out of half a yard of blue persian and 24 yards of blue ribbon. It is difficult to see what kind of a habit could be made out of these materials.

Sometimes peddlers visited the castle, and were patronised by the ladies of the household. Once Henrietta bought thread at the gate, and in 1738, Mary bought six spotted Indian napkins and Betty bought a remnant of spotted muslin. Similarly the Grant girls patronised the chapman when he came to Castle Grant.

There is no complete list of clothes belonging to George, first duke, though in old age his taste was sombre, for one account of 1715 mentioned a cinnamon colour suit looped with black, and a drab colour suit looped with silver. There is an extensive list of Alexander's clothes and other possessions at Gordon Castle in 1723, and this list is quoted in table 36.[30] The number of shirts is surprisingly small, for once when Alexander was in Edinburgh, he left behind him at least 17 shirts along with 15 handkerchiefs, 17 cravats, 13 pairs of gloves, seven

pairs of shoes and a wig. However, in 1726, he seems to have had a smaller selection of linen with him. The list, apart from highland clothes which have already been mentioned, included three suits, seven coats, four waistcoats, two cloaks and seven pairs of breeches. The coats are blue, black, brown, light colour and red, while the suits are grey, snuff colour or unspecified plush drugget, and the breeches are blue or unspecified. The two cloaks must have added a touch of colour to this rather drab selection, for one was scarlet with gold looping and the other blue with gold holes.

A similar list of Cosmo George's clothes was drawn up after his death, and is given in table 37.[31] Most of his clothes were kept in the dressingroom where his valet slept, the coats and outer garments in a mahogany chest and the linen and stockings in a chest of drawers. There were also the clothes the duke had with him in France when he died and these are listed in the trunk in which they were sent back to Scotland, and are given in table 38. Shoes must be omitted from this list, for apart from a pair of slippers and a pair of walking boots in the trunk, they are not mentioned at all. Cosmo George's taste is a good deal more cheerful than that of his father and grandfather, but he was much younger than either of them at the time of the respective lists, which perhaps explains the vivid colours of some of his coats: the thunder and lightning suit (a mixture of various glaring colours), and the suit in purple and white silk with gold twist buttons, are particularly striking. Otherwise, as usual in the 18th century, there is a lot of scarlet and blue.

When at Gordon Castle, the children's clothes were also made by

the Fochabers tailors. Before Cosmo George was born, a tailor made the mounting for a new cradle, and when the baby was less than a week old the tailor made him two dimity petticoats and four pairs of flannel breeches. When the duke was three he was wearing some very brightly coloured clothes; these included a scarlet camblet coat and undercoat, and a scarlet cloak and purple camblet coat and undercoat. He also wore stays as all babies did: his were reinforced with chamois leather. In 1725, all the children of both sexes were wearing stays of yellow canvas, and the girls had hoop petticoats of the same material. Their stays were edged with ferret and boned with whalebone.

In September 1725, when Cosmo George was five, he was put into breeches. He then had two suits made, and six months later a white camblet suit with silver mounting was added, along with two white waistcoats, and breeches of plush and drugget. The three elder boys were all in breeches in 1729, when they got new suits, and Adam, the baby, was still in frocks. The girls were dressed by the same tailors, in plain materials. An earlier account for Harriot's clothes, shows that she was then wearing white damask for mourning, and more cheerful fabrics including scarlet and green brocade, blue mohair, yellow tabby and cherry coloured flowered satin. These materials were all bought for over petticoats to show beneath the gown. Under petticoats were naturally much simpler: blue calico lined with worsted check or white tammy, and blue and white quilted petticoats. These quilted petticoats were worn by Henrietta and all the girls. In 1732, Janet Robertson quilted two for Henrietta and one each for Betty, Katherine and Charlotte. Their hair ribbons, muslin aprons and black hoods all came from Fochabers.

Underclothes and shirts were also made locally and this was usually a female occupation. Henrietta employed a woman in Fochabers to make shirts for the household. In 1728-9 this woman sewed shirts for Cosmo George's page and other members of the household, as well as for soldiers going to enlist in the King of Prussia's army. She also quilted calico petticoats and calico mourning petticoats for the girls. Shirts and smocks were expected by Henrietta to last for two years. Table 39 gives the numbers of shirts and other articles owned by Cosmo George, Alexander, and Hugh, earl of Marchmont.

Fochabers contained several shoemakers who were patronised by the family. Thomas Reid made the more expensive shoes, and also did odd jobs such as mending harness and making leather scabbards for dirks and broadswords. Cosmo George's shoes from Reid cost 4s, and double channelled pumps were 6s-7s. Mary, his sister, bought black shoes from Reid at 3s 6d the pair, as well as silk shoes at the same price, and once, a pair of boxed clogs at 4s. Francis Marshall, another shoemaker, was less in demand at his trade, but he was popular as a fiddler and was frequently hired to play at dances at Gordon Castle. He only made shoes for servants. Most of the family's shoes came from Robert Edward, who practised his trade in Fochabers for many years. Cosmo George's first shoes were made by him in October 1721, when the baby was 19 months old and presumably starting to walk, and they then cost 1s a pair. They continued at that price till December 1723, when they rose to 1s 4d, and then to 1s 6d a year later. In January 1727 Marshall made Cosmo George an expensive pair with red heels which cost 4s. His dancing shoes were made in Banff and cost 2s 6d a pair.

Marshall also made shoes for the rest of the family at prices varying according to the amount of leather used. Alexander's shoes were ordered from Edinburgh. He wrote to his secretary in 1723 asking him to order another four pairs, two of them thin turned, and all four with yellow leather uppers with calf quarter heels, the height of heel, shape and size all as usual.

Gloves were almost invariably bought from Robert Gilbert. His first account is dated in 1738, and he was still serving the household in 1752. He described himself as glover in Fochabers, though he did many other jobs as well, including making chamois breeches for servants, mending and washing the breeches, making hedge gloves for the gardener and rabbit fur gloves for the duke, and covering books with leather.

Lists of clothes as a comparison are difficult to find: an inventory of the clothes belonging to James, second marquess of Annandale, drawn up by his valet in 1724, is interesting, for it was kept up to date for the next year or two, and shows that Annandale handed on the worn out garments either to the valet or other dependants, or gave special items to his friends and relations.[32] Story, the valet, naturally did very well, being given suits, caps, old silk stockings, shirts and cravats, while a peddler at Nairn House was once given a pair of thread stockings, and other Johnstone dependants were also given clothes and linen. Annandale's Hope relations were also favoured, though mostly with new and costly presents, such as the pair of silk stockings given to Lord Hopetoun, the best laced cravat given to Lord Hope at Paris, and two quilted waistcoats presented to Charles Hope, though it is not explained why Lady

Harriot Hope wanted the blue brocade nightgown. Other recipients included Lord Strathmore and Mr Dundas, both of whom were given canes with large gold heads. Apart from distributing his wardrobe among his friends, Annandale was careless and scattered it on his travels; he was particularly liable to lose his handkerchiefs on his journeyings - the places including Alloway, Brechin, Preston and Paris - and once he lost a jacket on a visit to Lord Kimmerghame. Sometimes, something could be salvaged from a discarded garment: a red brocade nightgown was made into a cover for a settee, a fur lining from a coat was used to reline a nightgown, worn out stockings were cut up to mend others, and lace was taken off old shirts and used for new ones. Oddly, among an enormous quantity of clothes and linen, only one pair of drawers is mentioned. James, lord Hope, however, in 1776, owned at least six pairs of drawers, though far fewer suits and coats than Annandale. Similarly, John, fourth earl of Loudoun, had at his death in 1782, five pairs of linen drawers, 31 shirts, other linen, and seven suit of civilian clothes (three of them velvet), as well as two suits of general's uniform, a suit of regimentals, his parliament robes and the robes of the Order of the Thistle.[33]

Other lists of clothes infrequently mention linen or underwear in detail. Lord Stormont was an economical person when it came to clothes, and during the years 1779-80 the only extravagant purchase was the obligatory new suit for the king's birthday.[34] As Secretary of State for the South, Stormont had to be there, and on this occasion he had ordered a suit of a French fabric, embroidered, with an elaborate waistcoat, worn with the Order of the Thistle. Otherwise, his purchases were few;

his tailor was ordered to alter 14 pairs of old breeches, and once he bought some filsel stockings on discovering how cheap they were. John George, fifth lord Banff, who was drowned in 1738 at the age of 21, owned some very brightly coloured clothes, including a scarlet regimental coat with a gold brocade waistcoat and scarlet breeches, a white cloth coat and breeches worn with a scarlet waistcoat, and various odd waistcoats of green and scarlet paduasoy, and scarlet cloth with silver buttons and lace.[35]

There is very much less information about women's clothes in the Gordon family. Katherine's clothes are very infrequently mentioned in accounts, and there is no list of them. She occasionally patronised the Fochabers tailors. From Anderson she ordered petticoats and a riding jacket, and gave him her stays to mend. Duncan McDonnell also made petticoats for her, as well as gowns and a riding skirt. Katherine also ordered clothes for Susan, her eldest daughter, from McDonnell, usually gowns and once in 1749 a big coat. Mary, Cosmo George's sister, also ordered a big coat from James Anderson in 1743, and this is unusual for a woman at this date. It took $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth, with Genoa velvet for the collar, with 30 large and six small buttons.

In general, women seem less inclined to have their clothes inventoried. Lady Findlater noted each year what she had bought in London, but left no inventory of all her clothes, and similarly neither Henrietta nor Katherine Gordon did so. However, there are exceptions. The wife of the laird of Pitcalnie, Margaret Ross, who died in 1720, owned an interesting selection of clothes, inventoried after her death.[36] They all sound rather old fashioned, and presumably had been bought for many

years' wear. Her two best gowns were silk and satin, while the others were calico. She also owned the inevitable plaid (noted as a fine Glasgow plaid), and had a piece of tartan material ready to be made up as a sack. The word tartan can also be used to indicate striped material, so she did not necessarily intend to appear in what we would now describe as a tartan dress. Her laces and head dresses (kept in two spale boxes) are listed in detail but there is no mention of underwear, not even shifts. The inventory ends with the entry 'a morrowless stripped musline ruffle', indicating perhaps that Lady Pitcalnie was careless with her clothes.

The last table in this chapter (40) gives a splendid exception to the rule that women seldom listed their clothes; it gives a complete list, presumably made up by a maid, of the clothes of Elizabeth, duchess of Buccleuch, in 1769-70.[37] As the Montagu heiress, the newly married duchess could be expected to have had an extensive wardrobe, and from this list it can be seen that she did. A sombre note is struck by all the mourning listed; this is probably explained by the fact that her first child, George, had died of smallpox aged two months, in the previous year, 1768. The table is drawn up under the headings in the original list, though the same kind of garment sometimes appears under two headings. Some of the articles have been erased in the original, probably indicating that they were discarded or given away. The list of gowns, sacks and petticoats indicates that the duchess made a gorgeous appearance when arrayed in her best, and the colours are either very bright, usually striped or chintz, or white embroidered or sprigged in colours and gold and silver. Some of the gowns were made to accommodate hoops, and some of the petticoats are also specified as wide enough to take a

hoop. The duchess owned six hoops in all, along with a pair of panniers, though apparently only two pairs of jumps (stays). She was prepared for the cold with a set of under petticoats, stockings and gloves in a warm silky material. Her employments are shown by the number of riding dresses and a selection of clothes for masquerades, to which she went attired in a fashionable Chinese dress or as a nun. Her entrancing selection of cloaks, muffs and tippets included tippets of swanskin, sable, beaver and eider down, and muffs of swanskin, feathers, velvet and grey squirrel. Her linen is given in detail, and shows that she was outfitted in a sumptuous manner for her marriage: aprons, caps, handkerchiefs, under petticoats, ruffles and head dresses all appear in quantity, and the duchess also wore drawers (fustian, dimity and holland) which are not noted for women elsewhere. Similarly her lace is equally impressive - Brussels, mignonette (a kind of narrow lace), Mechlin, French point and Valenciennes all appear, made up into caps, handkerchiefs, head dresses, hoods, ruffles and tippets. She did not go in for gloves for adornment much: only two pairs of thread mittens, a pair of black silk mittens and a pair of velvet muffettees.

This profusion is unlikely to have been equalled by any other Scottish peeress, and is explained by the duchess's Montagu birth and fortune.

With the publication of the Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia in 1699 by the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, medical prescriptions and the substances used were largely standardised. The volume was immensely popular, and with a general scarcity of doctors in country places, had a large sale, being used in many households on a 'do it yourself' basis.

In the first edition most of the medicines prescribed were of vegetable origin, though later editions made concessions to popular folk medicine and introduced animal substances such as slaters, dried bees and toads. On the whole, however, the ingredients were practical, and the production was widely used.[38] At Gordon Castle as at other places, the volume was in the library and could be consulted when necessary. A drug chest was kept in the master of work's room for simple remedies based on the Pharmacopoeia, and similarly at Castle Grant, Lady Anne's room contained an apothecary's chest.

The Gordon Castle household was fortunate in that it maintained an apothecary in Fochabers, Francis Gordon. The yearly wage was £4 10s, and medicaments were extra. Usually he was paid partly in money and partly in kind. He had been educated at the expense of the second duke, and in turn was paid by Cosmo George to train another boy, Ronald MacDonald, Shian, whose college fees the duke also paid. Some years later he also paid the medical fees of another boy, John Stewart, who studied to become a doctor at Leyden.

In addition to the Fochabers apothecary, there was another in Elgin, Provost James Innes, who also supplied the household, though he complained that he was not paid regularly. In 1725 he wrote to the duke pointing out, in response to a complaint of the high prices charged, that the doctor had checked them off in his book and agreed that they were correct.[39]

When the situation was too serious to be treated with drug chest or apothecary, the doctor was called in. There was one in Elgin, Patrick Stuart of Blair, who was frequently at Gordon Castle. He was called in

when Cosmo George was born, and prescribed for Henrietta on the day after the baby was born, a mixture of spermaceti, tinctured Irish slate, castor oil, Gascoign's powder, saffron, oil of amber, volatile spirits and syrup of violets. A fortnight after his birth, the baby was being dosed with chicory and rhubarb, as well as specific julep, pearl powder and the ever popular Queen of Hungary water. A year later, brimstone was prescribed for him, both internally and externally. Henrietta was also attended by a midwife at the births of her children, and she usually received 5 guineas a time.

Cosmo George's own health was never good, and wherever he went he consulted the local doctors. In 1740 when he was at Gordon Castle, there was a crisis, and doctors were summoned from Edinburgh and London, as well as an opinion from a doctor in London, and an apothecary from there too. The apothecary charged 100 guineas for attending the duke from London to Scotland, the London opinion cost 5 guineas and the three doctors charged the same. The total of the bill was £290. The duke was ill again in 1749-50, and on this occasion Dr James Donaldson from Aberdeen was intensively consulted, being given £150 for his pains, trouble and attendance. In 1742, when Katherine had a miscarriage, the duke got advice from London, and brought a doctor from Edinburgh to see her.

Ailments suffered by the household can be deduced from the apothecary's bills. The duke paid for all medicines supplied to the castle, for himself, family and visitors, as well as servants and horses. All the items were submitted in an account under the various headings. Francis Gordon's accounts start in 1740 and go on till the duke's death, to

Whitsunday 1753. The total of his account for that period was £132, made up of £50 salary, £42 for medicines for the family, £20 for servants, £2 to the kitchen and £18 for the stables. As the duke was away from the castle for much of the time, his total in the whole account is small, but during 1742-3 when he was present, out of a total of £16 his own and family bills accounted for over half. He seems to have suffered from his stomach, for stomatic tincture, purging pills, worm pills, rhubarb, stomatic bitters, mercurial pills, Glauber salts and vomits appear frequently. The rest of the family enjoyed better health, apart from an occasional illness, such as Charles's sore eye in 1740, and medicines for Henrietta. The duke's children were similarly dosed with sugar of anise when very young, followed by burgundy pitch plasters, flower of brimstone and Glauber's salts, sweetened by sugar candy. They also took the oddly named nervous pills. Katherine's medicines are infrequent and sound pleasant, mainly syrups of white poppies or lemons, and cinnamon water.

The servants suffered from a selection of minor ailments, sometimes occupational hazards as when the cook caught his fingers in the jack, grooms were bitten or kicked by horses, or the undercook scalded his leg. Servants also took vomits and purging potions almost as often as their superiors. The apothecary's bill of 1749 has the last reference noted to a fool, here named John Reid, and given a strengthening plaster for his shoulder. When Andrew Innes, the footman, was ill, he was often given some rather nasty sounding medicine, as in 1738, when it was a mixture of camphorated wine and oilworms, or in 1749 he needed several doses of Venice turpentine.

The apothecary also dosed the horses and other animals in the stables. The duke's mare was given camphor, brandy and a plaster in 1738, and other horses receive brandy quite regularly, while dogs are given flower of brimstone and Neapolitan ointment, and cows get drinks. The rats too were not forgotten, though they cannot have been grateful for an ounce of powder cantharides and two ounces of oil of vitriol. Pleasanter medicines, for cookery, were supplied for the kitchen, mainly rosewater, essence of lemon, sal prunella and other culinary items.

The last relevant item in Francis Gordon's account is a charge, 'to the smoking of insense at his grace's burial' in 1752.

Apart from dining with local friends, Cosmo George and his family often went further afield to visit friends and relations. The duke's sister was rather confusingly married to his father in law, and they lived at Kellie or Haddo House, where the Gordons went for short visits and were visited in return. Once in 1738, on a tour round Moray and Banff, Cosmo George stayed at Castle Grant, Brodie House, Darnaway, Ballindalloch and Castle Forbes.

His most extensive tour was in July 1742, when he, Charles, Glenbucket and Katherine accompanied by John Hamilton and a retinue, set off on what was called a highland journey. The retinue was described by Lovat, a little sourly, as its host, as 'a great cavalcade of fifty or sixty horses'. The object of the trip was to visit the duke's highland estate of Strathavon, Glenlivet, Strathspey, Badenoch and Lochaber, to set tacks and screw the rents more punctually from the duke's tenants.

They set off on 14 July, staying at Keithmore, Lurg, Grant of Rothiemurcus's house of the Doune, McIntosh of Borlum and then Ruthven.

There was no suitable house to visit there, so they lodged with Janet McIntosh, relict of James Stewart, clerk of Ruthven.[40] There they saw the soldiers and watched the guard turning out, and on the following day the soldiers were exercised to amuse the party, receiving 3 guineas for this. They moved on to Cluny, where they were received by the laird, and travelled by Garvamore to Cameron of Lochiel's house, and then to Fort William where they remained for three nights. From the account of John Hamilton's disbursements, it must have been a cheerful party if the amount of wine drunk is anything to judge by.[41] The guard there turned out for the party, which was entertained by the governor. From Fort Augustus, they rode down Loch Ness to Inverness, while the baggage was sent on by water, and then set off for Beaufort. Lovat had been warned by Gortuleg, his cousin, of the impending visitation, and had made elaborate preparations for the visit, if we can believe what he wrote to his Edinburgh lawyer.[42] The letter, written the day after the party had left, mentioned Lovat's fatigue and disturbance, which, he said, had impaired his health a little. However, he mentioned bravely that he had sent his son with 50-60 friends on horseback to meet the party on the frontiers on Lovat's estate to make his compliments. He went on to describe his visitors, 'the Duke and Duchess and Lord Charles are very discreet, civil, affable persons, and the most of the gentlemen that were with the duke were pretty sensible gentlemen. There was likewise with them, Lochiel, McIntosh and Cluny. I entertained them with the best things that this country and Edinburgh could afford, and every body that was present that had skill of entertainments, said that it was a most handsome one'. He went on complacently, 'but

what surprised me most was that this little pitiful house (?Castle Downie) accomodate thirty of them, and that there was still a spare bed, I cannot express how extremely kind the duke was, and as he heard that my daughter was to be married to Cluny, he was mighty civil to him, and pressed me to have the marriage solemnised while he and the duchess were here. I told him that this would do me a great deal of honour, but that it was impossible for me to do it at this time for several essential reasons, so I refused it positively for I thought that it was too mean, and looked like killing of two dogs with one stone'.

They parted still on good terms, with Lovat promising to visit them at Gordon Castle and to leave his daughter with Katherine for a visit. Lovat's servants did very well out of this trip, for they were given 5 guineas among them, and his pipers half a guinea to themselves.

From Beaufort, the party returned to Inverness, and the duke paid a ceremonial visit to the castle, of which he was hereditary constable, and drank orange wine and porter.[43] The following night they stayed at Moy Hall, again entertained with pipers and fiddlers, and returned by way of Nairn. The entire journey was calculated by John Hamilton to have been 205 miles, and it cost nearly £120.[44]

This is the only record of such an extensive tour. On the whole, the duke tended to travel up and down to Edinburgh rather than sideways. Travelling in the north of Scotland presented difficulties, especially in winter. Horseback was bad enough, but when the duke set off in his coach, men were needed to clear a path through the snow, and dig it out of snowdrifts when required, as well as getting it over narrow or awkward bridges.

CHAPTER 6

EDINBURGH

There is an odd shortage of detailed accounts showing how the Scots nobility lived in Edinburgh. This is possibly due to the fact that many of them had houses, or at least relatives with houses, within a day's journey: Buccleuch at Dalkeith, Somerville at the Drum, Stair at Newliston, Hopetoun at Hopetoun, Blantyre at Lennoxlove, and Morton at Aberdour. They did not need to stay in Edinburgh, except an odd night occasionally. On the other hand, by the 18th century, the more affluent peer was no longer content to make an annual trip to Edinburgh and spend the rest of the time in the country: London was more the centre, and for politically conscious peers a stay there was essential, even if they were not among the 16 representative peers. London bills are usually kept together in a bundle and probably survive better, while Edinburgh accounts tend to come singly and get lumped in with other odd accounts.

Edinburgh was still a centre for many reasons, including the peers' elections, shopping, education, occasional jobs such as being Commissioner of the General Assembly, and the social round, but the richer peers tended to use it only as a stopping place on their journey south to London.

Cosmo George never stayed long in Edinburgh, and after 1745 he was hardly there at all. He often stayed a few days or a week on his way to or from London, but seldom made a special trip from Gordon Castle.

His journey was usually down the east coast by Aberdeen and

Stonehaven to Dundee, or inland by Fettercairn and the Cairn O'Mount and Brechin, joining the other route at Dundee, and both going by Cupar, Kinghorn and South Queensferry, often spending the night in Leith. Diversions from this route were caused by visits to relations and friends on the way. Once in 1735, Cosmo George went by Aberdeen, Stobhall, Tullibardine and Drummond Castle, and in 1743 he went an extended trip via Rothes, Castle Grant, Blair, Castle Menzies, Taymouth and Dunkeld. In 1750, on his last journey south, he travelled very slowly by Forres and Brodie, down the great north road as far as Perth, and then west by Stirling and Kilsyth to Glasgow and then back to Edinburgh. Details of some of these journeys are given in table 41.

From this table, the time taken usually varies between three and six days, depending on the weather, mode of travel and the route followed. Sometimes the time extended to nine days when these were all unfavourable. Cosmo George often went first to visit Lord Aberdeen at Kellie or Haddo. By leaving Kellie one day, and halting overnight at Fettercairn, he could be at Leith by the following night; but, on leaving Haddo, he did not usually get further than Aberdeen that night, and then usually halted overnight at Laurencekirk and Dundee, so that he was not in Leith till four days later.

Table 42 gives details of the money expended on the journey. The details are probably incomplete, for the tutor or secretary only notes the money he himself has expended, and so disbursements by the duke or other servants are not recorded. From this table, Scottish inns seem to be a little cheaper than their English equivalents, for lodging overnight, supper and breakfast often cost less than a pound.

Some of the hostelries mentioned sound unusual. July Brand was apparently an innkeeper at Kinghorn, but the Plasterers', which was near Balbirnie Bridge, is inexplicable.

Cosmo George and his entourage usually travelled on horseback, for the state of the roads made travel by chaise difficult and slow. Some of the horses were hired for the journey, either from Edinburgh or Kinghorn. The latter place had the advantage that the horses did not have to be taken across at South Queensferry, saving the expense of hiring an extra boat for them. Sometimes one boat would do, but occasionally three were hired as in 1734, on the journey south, when the duke hired a little boat out from the shore at Kinghorn at 2s 6d, then got onto the passage boat at 10s 6d, and then a brig at the other side at 3s 6d. On other occasions, only the passage boat was needed. The Dundee ferry was cheaper: 4s for one boat or 7s 6d for two. When rivers had to be crossed, a guide was sometimes needed to take the horses through the ford, and when there was a bridge, there was a toll to be paid.

The journey was naturally worse in the winter. In 1740, Cosmo George went north in January and returned the following month. The northward journey took six nights, and the party needed a guide north of Forfar and another over the North Esk. Ten days later, Cosmo George returned to Edinburgh, setting off in a snowstorm, so that fifty men were needed to clear a path between Huntly and Kellie. From there the duke went down the coast, taking eight nights in all.

The return journey in the summer of 1740 was almost as protracted, though for a different reason. This time he took his chaise north with him.

The first night was spent at Leith, where, as at Dundee, the chaise had to be watched at night, and at both ferries an extra boat had to be hired to take the chaise and four horses. From Dundee, they set out over the Cairn O'Mount, where an extra two horses were necessary to get the chaise over the Cairn. On reaching the Dee, the chaise had to be got over on a boat, and another two horses and a guide hired for the ascent of Sowie Hill. On this journey, Cosmo George was accompanied by Charles, his brother, John Hamilton, the coachman and two footmen, as well as two Kinghorn hirers and four horses. Some of the vouchers for this journey are with the secretary's account, but they are not at all helpful, for the meals are never detailed and the wines are not specified at all.

There are also vouchers for the next journey north in 1741, when Cosmo George went by Tullibardine, Huntingtower and Dunkeld and Castle Grant. It was really no cheaper to stay with friends on the way, for drinkmoney had to be distributed to the servants at each house. On this occasion, the duke left £2 10s at Tullibardine, £1 6s at Huntingtower, £3 5s to the servants and £2 12s 6d to the Atholl Highlanders at Blair, and a paltry shilling at Castle Grant.

The cost of the journeys varied. Northwards in 1735, the cost was £13 6s 4½d, and then south the same year is £9 5s 6d. South in the snowstorm of 1740 put the bill up to £22 1s 11d, and in the summer of the same year the journey with the chaise amounted to £28 14s 1d, but this includes a lodestone bought at Leith at £6. Travelling by chaise was not always so expensive, as can be seen from an account giving details of the money spent by Gordon of Auchinreath when he was sent

south to escort two of Cosmo George's sisters from Prestonhall to Gordon Castle, by chaise, going by Kinghorn, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, Drumleithie and Inverurie. The total charge on this occasion was £12 16s.

The Gordons did not own an Edinburgh house after Cosmo George's grandmother died in 1732.[2] Henrietta lived at Prestonhall, and the duke occasionally stayed there. The rest of the time, when in Edinburgh he hired lodgings. When taken by the week, as they usually were, the cost varied between £1 8s and £1 11s 6d, with coal and candle extra. Only one account specifies where the rooms are. This is an account of 1744, due to Robert Brisbane, who stated that the lodging was on the first storey of the President's stairs in the Parliament Close, and it was expensive, for it cost 16 guineas a month. After this Cosmo George almost ceased to visit Edinburgh at all, and there is only one account of 1750 for lodgings, though he was certainly there in 1747 at the peers' election.

On short visits, Cosmo George usually dined out at a tavern. Table 43 shows some of his meals during the visit of 1739-40, when he went to several places. The menus are similar: fricassee of lobster, wildfowl and partridges from John Jolly, beef steak with pickles, turkey and lobster with a bottle of madeira from Helen Greig, and fish, minced collops, roast hen and egg sauce from James Stedman. Apart from parsley sauce, vegetables are hardly ever mentioned, and puddings are equally scarce. The cook and cadies are tipped individually. During his stay in 1744, which was longer, Cosmo George brought his cook, James MacGregor, with him. MacGregor kept an account of the food he bought for the family, which was repaid to him by the secretary.[3] The

food is much the same as at Gordon Castle, but the meat is less varied, being nearly all beef, with a sirloin at least once a week, as well as rump, thigh, breast and hough, beef for servants and for broth. Mutton and lamb appear much less frequently, and in smaller quantities. Lamb's head or leg appears now and then, and so does a leg of veal. Pork is only eaten once. Poultry is less on the menu; pullets are most often eaten, with other game occasionally. Some fowl appear in pairs - pullets, duck and muirfowl. Fish is seldom mentioned. Cod, usually in pairs, appears about six times in the month, with alternatives such as herring, haddock, lobsters and prawns, as well as dulse for Cosmo George himself. Vegetables are eaten at home if not in taverns, usually greens, parsley, spinach, carrots and turnips. Occasionally, nettles, celery, leeks and potatoes appear. Fruit is hardly ever mentioned apart from lemons. MacGregor seldom notes how he is going to cook the food he has bought; lamb's head appears as a stove with spinach, which is also served with tongue; chickens are fricasseed, the hough of beef made into broth, salad prepared from eggs and apples, gravy collops from rump of beef or hook bone, and plum pudding prepared with brandy. These are all dinner items, for supper was a much simpler meal, consisting of spinach and eggs, or tarts and oysters.[4]

As in London, the puddings were prepared outside the house by a professional. Here, John Clerkson, baker, was patronised. During this visit, he supplied 11 dishes of tarts, four sheets of silbets,[5] two gooseberry tarts, a florentine of apples and chestnuts, and a caster loaf, during February and March.[6] He also sold bread to the household.

The duke did not always dine at home, for he also ate in taverns.

The one he usually patronised was run by Richard Walker, vintner. One day's menus were, dinner - broth, stewed cod, beef steaks; and supper - Scotch collops with truffles and morels, chickens, lobsters, tarts, and two bottles of wine.[7] Other days the duke ate muirfowl and lobster, or rizzared (dried) fish.

Groceries on this visit to Edinburgh were bought from Thomas Trotter. His account for five weeks is given in table 44.[8] There are the usual spiceries and washing materials, along with ale, corks, blancmange, bottles, and other glasses, as well as wax candles and flambeaux. Wine was bought from James Cowan, who also sent it to Gordon Castle. He supplied Chateau Margaux claret in bottles, as well as madeira, and another supplier, John Jolly, also produced slightly cheaper claret and white wine. The total bought during January and February was: 17½ dozen claret, three dozen madeira and two dozen white wine. Whisky was bought from Mrs Clark, vintner in Leith (six dozen bottles at 3s the bottle) and beer from two brewers, David Willson and Thomas Trotter. Willson sold beer at 8s the hogshead (six hogsheads in all) and 40 pints at 2d the pint, and Trotter sold ale in nine gallon trees at 10s each. He supplied five of these, but the duke noted on the bills that he was only prepared to pay for four of them, as he was keeping 10s off the bill for a bad cork.

Coals usually came from William Young or John Nickoll. Young supplied 21 cartloads of great coal between 25 January and 29 February, costing 5 guineas in all, with 3½d to the coalman for carrying the coal up and 1½d per cartload to the carter. For the next two weeks, the coal came from John Nickoll, 10 cartloads at 4s 6d each, that is 6d cheaper

per load, with 2d to the creel men for carrying each load and 1d per load to the carter lads.

Candles were bought from Thomas Cochrane, candlemaker: 2 stone 8 lb of cotton candles, 2 stone 2½ lb of ordinary candles, and 1 stone 10 lb of moulded candles.

The washing was done by Mrs Duguid, whose bills are as obscure as laundry bills always are. Table 45 gives the bill in full.[9] From it, shirts and stockings are the only items mentioned by themselves, and everything else is lumped together as small clothes. Katherine's bill at least shows that smocks and riding shirts were similar, and that she seems to have managed with one pair of pockets for some weeks. As usual there is an odd lack of drawers, though perhaps they were included in the smallclothes. As well as washing, Mrs Duguid mended the servants' stockings and calendered some of them.

Horses and attendant expenses always appear among bills for travel, and at Edinburgh there are bills for saddlery, horse and coach hire, livery charges and stabling, coach house rent and coach repairs.

The saddlery accounts are nearly all repairs: stuffing and mending saddles at 6d-8d a time, with a few new items, usually from James Gordon, who charged a guinea for a large clogbag and 15s for a smaller one. John Boswell was only once patronised in 1743, when Cosmo George bought a hunting saddle with all its accessories at £1 14s 6d. The horses were stabled with James Boyd in the Canongate. He charged a shilling per horse per night, or 1s 6d with hay and corn included. He also hired out horses: 1s 3d to Wallyford, 1s 9d to Prestonhall or Queensferry, 3s to Dunfermline or Haddington, and 9s to Moffat. Once Boyd

bought a grey horse for the duke at £14 3s 6d and sent it to Gordon Castle in 1741, and two years later he sold another one for Cosmo George at £4. Horses and coaches were also hired from John and Mary Walker, coachmen. They charged 10s for a coach and four going to Musselburgh, 18s to Wallyford, £3 for a coach and six, two days going to and returning from Haddington. Horses were also hired for the journey to Gordon Castle, 30s for six horses per day: 15 days both ways in 1744 cost £27 10s, and £20 7s in 1745; and for longer periods: a pair cost 5s the day for 39 days in 1744, and in the same year they supplied horses for the journey to and from York at 35s the day.

While in Edinburgh, the horses were looked after by Thomas Gifford, smith and farrier. He gave them 'comfortable drinks', as well as bleeding them, and providing shoes at 2s for four, or pots of hoof salve and oil for strains.

The coach was always left with William Lauder, coachmaker, who also did the necessary repairs. He charged £2 a year between 1735 and 1749 for coach house rent for the duke's chariot, which was probably easier than trundling it up and down between Edinburgh and Gordon Castle. He also maintained it, oiling it about three times a year and greasing the wheels. When the duke brought his chaise to Edinburgh with him, Lauder kept this too at 1½d per night. After 1749 there is a gap in his accounts, and then an odd receipt to John Home in 1759, for £2 for a year's standing of an old coach belonging to the late duke, and a payment for advertising it for sale, in which the vehicle was described as a strong travelling coach. Only one other account for coach repairs survives. This is due to David Mein in 1738, 'for going to Lith

and taking out the ches and hingen hir and railing hir at the costam hous and for a hors to bring hir from Lith' at 6s.[10]

On Cosmo George's early trips to Edinburgh there is more information on how he spent his time than on the later visits, because of the accounts kept by his tutor or governor. On his first visit in 1734, Cosmo George and Charles were accompanied by Robert Symmer, their tutor. They stayed in Edinburgh for ten days on their way to London, and during that time they were taken to see various sights, including Parliament Square, various portions of Holyrood Abbey, the Castle, the Physic Garden, Surgeons' Hall and Heriot's garden. They attended the English chapel, and dined with various people, mostly Gordon relations, including Essilmonth, Park and Knockespick.

Cosmo George also did a little shopping: two pairs of silk stockings, a hat, a sword for himself and one for Charles, a wig and some saddlery. He presented Mr William Ker with half a guinea in return for a French grammar finely bound. On the return journey from London, the party again stopped in Edinburgh for several nights, when they saw several unspecified curiosities, attended the English chapel, dined out and did some more shopping.

All that James Abercromby mentions in the way of entertainment in the following year when they again visited Edinburgh, is that they went to see a ship at Leith. However Abercromby gives a more detailed account in the next year, when Cosmo George and Charles stayed in Edinburgh for several months.[11] They were there for their education, and Cosmo George had lessons in drawing from John Alexander (four months at $1\frac{1}{2}$ guineas the month), dancing from Mr Lamotte (three months

at the same price for the first month, and then a guinea thereafter), and mathematics from Colin McLaurin (four months at two guineas the month). As this visit to Edinburgh was intended to give Cosmo George some social polish, he also attended the play (nine times), the assemblies (five times), charity balls (three times) and his dancingmaster's ball (once). Other entertainments included golfing at Leith, a visit to Kinghorn by the ferry, various benefit concerts and hunting at Dryden.

After this there are few details of how Cosmo George spent his time in Edinburgh. John Hamilton's accounts are less satisfactory in this respect. They are usually limited to paying bills for Cosmo George, who was now old enough to spend his own money without anyone taking notes of what he spent it on.

The only real reason why the nobility had to come to Edinburgh was to vote in the peers' elections, and even then they could send lists or appoint proxies. Cosmo George appeared for the first time at an election in 1741, when he came of age. This was the first time a Gordon duke had been present on such an occasion, as all Cosmo George's predecessors, as Catholics, had been ineligible to vote. He was present again in 1747, when he was among those chosen, and again in 1750.[12]

Purchases in Edinburgh to take home were usually luxuries or things that could not be bought nearer home. Cosmo George usually bought wine, clothes, garden seeds and useless but ornamental articles sold by the toyman.

Taking clothes first, most of the materials came from two firms, David Spence and Robert Hamilton. The Spence and Millar bills cover the period 1732-41, and include materials for servants' clothes.

Mournings for the death of Elizabeth, dowager duchess of Gordon, were bought for Cosmo George in 1732, and included a hat with crape, black stockings and shoes, buckles for both shoes and breeches, black cloth for coat and breeches, and three pairs of weepers. Equipped with all this, the twelve year old duke must have presented a very funereal aspect. The material in this case was made up by James Lyon, tailor, and the cost included in the merchant's bill. In 1735, the same firm provided the material for clothes for the tutor, as well as John Hamilton, James Chalmers and several other unspecified servants, all at the duke's expense, the total being £93.

Robert Hamilton's bills date from 1738 to 1744. He supplied a wider range of materials, including blue and black velvet at 19s and 19s 6d the yard, as well as rich black Genoa velvet at 25s, and cheaper fabrics such as alapine and dimity at 2s, Russia drab for a servant at the same price, serge du soy at 2s 6d, and a more expensive cloth called Spanish cloth at 20s.

Tailoring was usually done by Robert Barclay. His bills cover the years 1738-50. In 1739, he charged 12s for making a coat and breeches with a brocade waistcoat. Other tailors in Edinburgh patronised by the duke included James Lyon, who worked mainly for the servants, and Thomas Hunter, who tailored for the duke himself. In 1742, Hunter made him a scarlet frieze Newmarket greatcoat, its edge bound with mohair cord, and embellished with three dozen large and half a dozen small buttons.

Linen was sometimes made for Cosmo George in Edinburgh too, and shoes always came from Alexander Smith, shoemaker in the Canongate,

who supplied pumps at 5s, double pumps at 7s, half boots at 10s 6d and slip boots at 15s. Wigs were bought from Charles Thomson, wig-maker, who also shaved the duke and dressed the wigs when required. The following varieties were supplied between 1738 and 1744: five bobwigs (three pale, one black and one long grizzled), one bag (pale), two brown (English hair), one fine brown tie, one pale foxtail, one grizzled brigadier and one grizzled fly. The prices varied between 14s-16s for a pale bob to 27s for the fine grizzled fly.[13]

Wine was bought in Edinburgh to be shipped to Gordon Castle. James Cowan was usually patronised. In 1742 Cowan sent 12 hogsheads of bottled claret, small and strong, and promised another six when he could hear of a suitable boat bound for the Spey.

One shop always visited by Cosmo George when in Edinburgh was that of James Farquhar, toyman. He sold a great variety of things, mostly frivolous and impracticable, with some more useful items too, and Cosmo George clearly found the shop irresistible. Table 46 gives all Farquhar's bills in full.[14] They date from 1735 to 1749, though most of them are before 1745. After this Cosmo George tended to do most of his shopping in London. The total spent amounts to £144 17s 9d. The purchases are so varied that it is difficult to say that any particular kind of thing appears most frequently. Among the purchases were snuffboxes and snuff mills, ranging from a cheap japanned box at 4s to a gold one at £12 1s 6d. There are also novelties among them, such as a box with a moving picture, and others with double or triple pictures, a German box of agate or a bloodstone. There are also enamelled boxes with prints, those specified being 'provision for the convent',[5] the

fortune teller, Shakespeare's head and various unspecified landscapes. One snuffbox is described as 'Dresden fashion', which may mean it was really Meissen or just one of its imitators. Farquhar usually distinguishes between snuffboxes, which are of metal, enamel, porcelain or semi-precious stones, and snuff mills, which are usually of wood. The latter are described as staved with silver 'junts',[16] tortoiseshell mounted with silver, ebony hooped with silver, ebony and ivory with silver 'junts', 'cockowood',[17] also with silver 'junts'.

The snuff for all these boxes was also supplied by Farquhar as well as by other retailers. Farquhar sold scented rappee at 4d the ounce, lavender scented at 5s the pound including the canister, tobacco in sticks at 3s 6d the pound, along with an ivory grater at 5s, so that the duke could grate it freshly himself. Other kinds of rappee specified are French at 3s 6d the pound, Havanna at 4s, plain at 3s, and best at 4d the ounce.

Other purchases include various reading aids, from which it is probable that Cosmo George was shortsighted. These are spectacles at 1s 3d or 3s the pair, pairs of 'preserves'[18] set in steel at 6s, reading sconces, French at 18s, or 'not so fine' at 10s 6d, and a French pocket glass with a magnifier at 7s 6d.

Before his marriage, the duke was a keen purchaser of wind instruments and presumably played them. He bought German flutes made by Schuchardt at 15s each, in quantity, as well as an oboe by the same maker at the same price, with a shagreen case for it and four reeds at 3s, a Bizie flute mounted with ivory at 30s, a glove horn at 4 guineas with a silver plate mouth, and a hunting horn at 3s. From the number of

spare mouth pieces purchased for the flute, he was a careless player.

Other pastimes mentioned include battledores and shuttlecocks, accessories for hawking, mogul cards, fishing rods and hooks, flies and lines, skates,[19] a telescope (though this was returned), a box for holding counters for quadrille, various articles for shooting, gunpowder, powder horns and magazines, and a purse for holding the money to be given as the prize at the Huntly race in 1749.

Household articles, both ornamental and useful, also feature in Farquhar's bills. There are prints, of racehorses and Hungarian officers, a crystal cruet mounted in silver, grates with tongs and other accessories, a copper kettle and lamp, brass hinges, hat pins, bells, springs, pulleys, bell cord, two malt mills and a brass knocker.

The other items purchased are mainly personal oddments, such as razors, toothpick cases, lancets, combs, buckles, pencils, spurs, corkscrews, swords and swordbelts.

Occasionally Cosmo George bought from other similar dealers, but not on the same scale. David Beatt was sometimes patronised. He usually sold the duke rappee, and his bills, 1738-41, amount in all to £31 7s 3½d. His charges for rappee were 3s the pound for plain, and 3s 5d for scented. He also sold snuff, 1s 8d the pound for Lindsay's dried snuff, and tobacco in batons at 15s each. Other items include a silk purse at 4s, two gold embroidered napkins at 3 guineas for the two, 'a steel machine for shoes' at 2s 6d, bottles of lavender and Hungary water, and various unspecified snuffboxes costing 25s-28s.

Snuff also came from James Lindsay who described himself both as a snuffman and tobacconist. He charged 2s 8d for a pound of toasted

snuff and 1s 8d for untoasted, with canisters at 5d each.

Newspapers were sent from Edinburgh to Gordon Castle, usually paid for a year at a time. The Caledonian Mercury cost £1 1s 6d a year in 1739, rising to £1 6s by 1742, and the Courant cost 17s 6d. The former paper was usually sent off by the clerk to the Post Office, as factor for Walter Ruddiman and Robert Fleming, printers in Edinburgh.

On his visit of 1735-6, in addition to his drawing lessons from John Alexander, Cosmo George bought the paints from two suppliers, James Norie and James Miller. Norie sold sets of water colours, one in 1736, consisting of seven glasses at 4s 8d, with cow hair brushes at 10d each, English pencils at 4d, Dutch pencils at 2d, gold and silver shells, and also individual glasses and papers of ultramarine.[20] In 1741, the duke bought various bottles from Norie, the colours being scarlet, lemon, grass green, dark grass green and yellow green, all at 8d each, crimson, gold and purple at 1s, orange and deep brown at 10d, and bright blue at 1s 6d.[21]

Seeds and plants bought in Edinburgh have already been discussed. They were mostly bought from McClellan and Eagle, though John Hosack, gardener, once sent two boxes of asparagus in 1741, and William Boutcher also supplied tree seeds, including beechmast, silver fir, walnut, chestnut and larix cones as well as 192 lb of red clover.[22]

Cosmo George very seldom bought jewellery or silver in Edinburgh. In 1733 Henrietta paid Charles Duncan, goldsmith, for setting a large nut with silver. Ten years later Cosmo George bought a pair of silver candlesticks from Robert Gordon, goldsmith, which cost £13 2s 4d, though £5 of this was paid in old silver. In the same year, James Ker

sold the duke a hair ring and a child's spoon, and finally in 1752, Gordon supplied blades for two knives and mended a ring.

Once Cosmo George bought a watch. This was in 1739, and it came from Andrew Dickie and cost 11 guineas. Dickie also repaired a gold repeater two years later. In 1735, Cosmo George bought a reflecting telescope from James Short at 15 guineas.

John, lord Glenorchy, later third earl of Breadalbane, is about the only other Scottish peer who kept all his accounts of his disbursements in Edinburgh, and like Cosmo George, he was not in Edinburgh for long, only a week or so on his journeys between London or Sugnall and Taymouth.

His disbursements in Edinburgh are usually either household accounts or payments to workmen for repairs or building either at the Abbey of Holyrood where he had apartments, or at Taymouth. For instance, his bills for 1750 include £465 spent on painters, upholsterers, wrights and plasterers at Taymouth, and £104 on glaziers and masons for work at the Abbey.[23] The other bills for this year are all small accounts, mostly stabling, coach repairs and clothes. Glenorchy very seldom bought clothes for himself in Edinburgh, but he had them made for his son and the servants. In 1745 Glenorchy, like Cosmo George, was patronising Robert Barclay, who made various clothes for Master Campbell, including a suit with an extra pair of breeches, two hussar vests, a blue coat, again with two pairs of breeches and a scarlet laced vest, and another suit with a tartan vest.[24] For the servants, Barclay made two frocks and vests, two sets of coat, breeches and laced vest, a travelling frock and a fustian coat and breeches.

Breadalbane's account books do not list his occupations in Edinburgh in detail as they do when he was in London, and so there is little information on how he spent his time in Edinburgh. In 1744, during a visit of about four weeks, he visited the following people: Lord Arniston, Sir Robert Myrton, the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Hopetoun, Sir Charles Gilmore, Sir John Cope and General Guest. On a subsequent visit of 1750-1, the details are: Lord Leven, Brunstane, Musselburgh, races on Leith sands, Beltonford, Lord Rosse, Leith, Saughtonhall, and church every Sunday.

There are few accounts for medicine supplied for Cosmo George when in Edinburgh, though he did visit various doctors. Breadalbane, however, took a variety of medicine, whether in London or Edinburgh, and in the latter place the medicaments came from Alexander Munro, surgeon apothecary. Breadalbane himself took sacred tincture, white arsenic, rhubarb, Ethiop's mineral, ipecacuana and cream of tartar, while his wife favoured laxative pills, gilded pills and steel carvies. The servants were similarly dosed - the cook with plasters and vomits, and the others with jesuit's bark, glauber salts, laudanum and something described as vitriolated tartar.

Breadalbane bought few luxuries in Edinburgh, doing most of his purchasing in London. He did once buy silver teaspoons from a fellow Campbell in 1746, and on the same occasion he ordered some very expensive table linen from Yaxley Davidson.[25] The account is given in full in table 47.

Apart from supplies for the Taymouth garden, William Miller also sold Glenorchy vegetables and fruit while he was staying in Edinburgh.

Table 48 gives details of what he sold from June to November 1751.[26] Like Cosmo George's supplies, the basics were greens, parsley and carrots, with herbs such as bay, hyssop, sage and thyme occasionally. Fruit is more common than with Cosmo George, but he was in Edinburgh in the winter when it was scarcer. Potatoes appear in three months out of the six, but only in smaller quantities.

The Findlaters and Marchmonts were hardly ever in Edinburgh. The Findlaters usually stayed with Lady Findlater's family at Hopetoun on their journeys between Cullen and London; and Hugh, earl of Marchmont, spent most of his time in England, and, when he did visit Redbraes, most of the shopping was done in Duns, Greenlaw or Berwick. Similarly, Buccleuch lived mainly in England, and when in Scotland resided at Dalkeith, so there was no need to live in Edinburgh; and Montrose stayed at Buchanan when in Scotland, and most of the household supplies came from Glasgow.

Sir James Grant of Grant and his family once spent a year in Edinburgh in 1778-9. During this time the household expenses amounted to £362 2s 5d[27] - at least, this is all the money disbursed by the butler or housekeeper, whoever kept the accounts, but as there are some omissions such as tea and coffee, the real figure must be rather higher. Life in Edinburgh was more expensive than at Castle Grant, for, like Cosmo George in Edinburgh, much of what would be done at Castle Grant or Gordon Castle by servants, was in Edinburgh farmed out at a price. The Grants sent the mangling out to be done, and had to buy beer, bread and biscuits, which at Castle Grant would be made at home. Wages are not included. The children are with the Grants, and Penuel's

birth is put in the newspapers on 25 November 1779, and on this occasion plum cake and sugar biscuits are bought. Lewis attends the high school, which costs £1 2s 6d the quarter. There was a harpsichord and also a spinet for Jeannie and Annie to play, but there is no mention of any schooling for them. The family did not live in Edinburgh for the whole year, for some of them went to Laverockbank, though a few servants are left in town. The weekly amounts of food vary quite a lot. Beer is drunk, beginning with 6 gallons a week, rising later to 10 gallons, while bread varies between 12 and 17 loaves. Offal is much eaten, including sheeps' heads, tripe and sweetbreads. The birds are given birdseed and there is a reference to a cow kept at Bonnington.

At the new year, tips are distributed to the various messengers and others: 5s to the letter carrier and thief catcher, 4s to the beadle, 2s 6d to the street cleaner, waterman and Canongate officer, and 1s to the new kirk seat keeper and lamplighter. A variety of churches is apparently patronised, for as well as the Canongate and New kirks, there are references to the Erse chapel. Charity is seldom mentioned, only occasionally an odd penny or sixpence to a poor man or woman. Sir James and Lady Grant usually put sixpence or a shilling in the collection on Sundays.

CHAPTER 7

THE JOURNEY, HOUSEHOLD IN LONDON

The journey between Edinburgh and London was usually undertaken by road. There was the possibility of going by sea, but this was not much used except for baggage and servants. There were two main routes - the great north road and the west road. By 1750, nearly the whole of the great north road had been turnpiked; all except the two stretches between Little Drayton and Doncaster, and between Buckton Burn and Berwick, a distance of 32 miles in all.[1] By the same date the west road was partly turnpiked, at least as far as Newcastle under Lyme, but there were gaps north of that.

Nearly all the Scots nobles, like everyone else, used the great north road. It was passable for coaches, though still used by cattle, sheep and heavy waggons which turned the road into a slough in wet weather. However by the middle of the 18th century the turnpike acts had improved the road greatly, at the traveller's expense, and this meant that coach travel between Edinburgh and London was feasible, though the journey was still slow and uncomfortable and guides were needed at some points in the journey, presumably when the travellers had left the turnpike road. As the alternative to travelling by coach was on horseback, only servants were sent by horse, either alone or to accompany the coach.

The vehicle used had to be a heavy one to stand up to the roads, as well as large to accommodate a whole family or six adults, as well as coachman, postilion and possibly a servant or two. The cavalcade

was completed by several servants on horseback, with guns, in case of highwaymen. Some travellers used their own coach and hired posthorses, while others hired both. Cosmo George usually took his own coach and hired posthorses as he went along. The Findlaters made a bargain for the hire of a coach and six, and two or three saddle horses, for the whole journey; John, first earl of Breadalbane, hired horses as far as York and then took places in the York coach for London, while his grandson hired a coach and horses like the Findlaters.

The time taken on the journey varied a good deal, both because of the state of the road and the temperament of those using it. In 1701, Anne, duchess of Buccleuch, took 15 days to travel from London to Dalkeith, while, by 1770, Alexander, fourth duke of Gordon, needed only six days between London and Edinburgh. Cosmo George usually took about eight days, the times varying between five days in 1739 to 13 in 1735 and 1750. His usual time was eight days, varying according to where the party spent the nights on the north part of the journey; the turnpikes were finished earlier on the southern end, and travel was easier nearer London. The first table in this chapter (49) shows the duke's overnight halts, 1736-50. From this, Cosmo George does not seem to have favoured any particular points for either spending the night or baiting during the day. On the south journey the first night was usually spent at Cockburnspath, Haddington or Beltonford, but once in 1739, he got as far as Alnwick. The second night was spent at Newcastle or Morpeth, and after that the places varied. The journey of 1750 was much more protracted for the duke was ill and accompanied by his doctor. On the return journey, the first night was usually spent quite near London -

Enfield was only ten miles away, and Royston and Hatfield were not much more. Darlington, Newcastle or Morpeth were often patronised on the return too, and the other halts varied again. Usually he followed the great north road, apart from diverging to visit York, and took either of the turnpiked routes south of Alconbury.

The next table (50) shows the cost of three of these journeys: south in 1736 and 1750, and north in 1740. The first journey of 1736 is much the cheapest. On this occasion, the money was disbursed by the duke's tutor, who had to account to Henrietta for the money spent. This time, the whole journey cost only £33, including 10s 3½d handed out to the poor on the road. Horse hire accounts for nearly half the total, with meals and overnight accommodation rather less, and the remainder, nearly £3, being spent on tips at the inns and to the hostler, postboy and horn. Four years later, the cost has nearly doubled, when the money is being given out by John Hamilton, the main increase being in the cost of hiring horses: £28 compared with £15, and in meals: previously £5 and now £12. The poor on the road are not doing as well, and the tips cannot be computed, for John Hamilton has lumped them in with the cost of hiring horses. Ten years later, in 1750, the cost is about the same, though the money is spent over 13 days instead of eight. Horses and postchaise are cheaper at £22, though the overnight accommodation is up to £16. In this account the servants' boardwages are stated: £9, which is expensive when compared with what Lady Findlater allowed.

Cosmo George's journeys are usually taken from his secretary's accounts, which do not give details, but on one occasion John Hamilton kept most of the accounts as vouchers, so that the journey north in 1740

is fully documented.[2] Table 51 shows how the duke's money was spent, and what the party ate on the journey. From this table, the first two days seem crammed with far too many meals. On the first day, having slept at Enfield, the party stopped for refreshment at Ware, and ate fish, eggs, tea, bread and butter, coffee and brandy and beer. Even if this is a substantial breakfast, they then move on to another meal at Royston, where the food is unspecified but is accompanied by negus, arrack, punch and beer. After this there are five further halts for refreshment and changing the horses before they halt for the night at Grantham, and eat a supper of salmon, potted beef, tarts, wine and whey, and bread and beer. The next day they halt at Newark, Tuxford, Bawtry, Doncaster, Ferrybridge and Wetherby, eating strawberries twice, as well as two lots of chickens and eggs. From Boroughbridge, the meals settle down to the usual pattern of dinner in the middle of the day and supper at night. Supper at Newcastle included soup especially made for the duke, and dinner the following day at Morpeth was an elaborate affair of jellies, fish, negus, claret and rosewater.

Apart from this journey, there are few vouchers surviving to show what the party ate. There are some accounts for the journey south in 1740-1, and these give two or three meals. On 3 January 1741, the duke arrived at Northallerton, and ordered veal, mutton and broth, fish, partridge, wine, bread and beer for supper. The following day he supped at Ferrybridge where he was given fish, two fowls, mince pies, apples, bread and beer, and bought cards to while away the evening. The next night at Newark, he ate fowls again, along with a shoulder of mutton, cheese, wine and sugar, and bread and beer. The night after, the duke

reached Stilton, where the innkeeper produced the inevitable pair of fowls, a breast of veal, more mince pies, cheese, tea, bread and beer, with tea, toast and butter for breakfast.[3]

In 1743, the duke stayed for a whole week at York, and the bill is given in full in table 52.[4] There are no dates with the bill, so it is impossible to tell where one meal ends and the next one begins. Middle beer appears 13 times, so it was probably served for both dinner and supper, along with wine, Bristol water and bread and butter. The main courses were meat or poultry, and sometimes fish, eels or oysters. Tarts and apple pie, the latter accompanied by cheese, only appear once each, so pudding was not much eaten, unless the occasional mention of fruit indicates it was served then. Coffee is mentioned only once, and tea not at all.

Compared with Cosmo George, the Findlaters took a very long time to reach London. Up to 1756, their time varied between 13 and 19 days on the journey south, and between 11 and 13 days on the return. After that, the time shortens suddenly, and on the southward journeys of 1759-60 they took only seven and eight days. This is not explained, for they continued to hire a coach and six horses for the whole journey as usual. Possibly the longer time was caused by using the same horses throughout, and not getting fresh ones at each halt, for the roads had been turnpiked, and it does not seem likely that this was the cause of the delay.[5] Perhaps it was due to their greater age and careful habits.

The cost of the Findlaters' journeys does not vary much. Table 53 shows the length and cost of some of their journeys between 1734 and 1760. The cost of the southward journey varied between £57 and £72,

and the return between £50 and £61. Even in 1759-60, the cost of the journey has not dropped much though the time has been nearly halved. The main expense was the hiring of a coach and horses, and the length of the trip did not affect this.

Their overnight halts are shown in the next table (54). Going south, they always halted at Newcastle and Beltonford, and usually Boroughbridge and Stamford, though the others varied. They did not go by York, except once in 1741. Tables 55 and 56 give Lady Findlater's accounts of their expenses on the journeys of 1740-1 and 1755-6.

Lady Findlater always made careful notes of both journeys and then discarded the accounts. She occasionally commented on the meal and accommodation, but never favourably, her notes being always either 'bad' or 'dear'. She also mentions incidental charges along with the prices of meals and overnight accommodation, but she does not give details of the food. They always hired a coach and horses, along with two or three saddle horses, taking with them the coachman and postilion who were included in the charge for the coach and six, and two or three of their own servants on the saddle horses. Sometimes an additional horse was hired. The prices paid for meals and accommodation do not vary much: about 9s to 11s for dinner (Lady Findlater thought 14s dear), and 17s to 25s for supper and accommodation overnight.

The Findlaters usually followed the pattern of supper and an overnight halt at one place, and dinner in the middle of the day in another, but occasionally they set off early and had breakfast when they had travelled some distance, and then dined as usual elsewhere, and reached their destination for that night and supper. Sometimes, they do not

appear to halt for dinner at all; possibly they took a picnic meal with them, or were invited to a meal by friends.[6]

The inns patronised by the Findlaters were either the posthouses or a private competitor, with a variety of names. There were patriotic ones called the George, or various animals and birds - black bulls, red and golden lions, swans, white horses, cocks, green dragons and white harts. There were also family names such as the Talbot and the Duke of Kingston, and the proprietor's own name. Once at Aberford, they dined at the Excise Office. Others mentioned were the Quaker, the Turk's Head and the Checker. The Findlaters regularly patronised the same inns, particularly the Angel at Grantham, the Cock at Eaton and Steel's Black Bull in Newcastle.

They undertook the journey in a businesslike way with no extras. Horseshoes usually had to be bought, and a smith often mended the saddlery or doctored a sick horse on the journey, and the provision of gunpowder and flints shows that there was the possibility of meeting a highwayman on the road, but Lady Findlater does not mention this in her accounts, so presumably her precautions were not necessary. There was a minor disaster on the way north in 1756, when the coach broke down at Ormiston, and they had to spend 24 hours there and then hire two postchaises for the rest of the journey. Once in 1754, they stayed with the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont on the first night out of London, and once they returned home by way of Buxton to drink the waters, but otherwise Lady Findlater's accounts show a straight journey between London and Edinburgh. She never mentions any sightseeing on the trip.

The Hopetouns were very seldom in London, and only a few accounts

for the journey survive. There is one account for a visit of a month in the summer of 1753, given in table 57.[7] From this, the south journey took 13 days and the return 16. The inns are given. The party consisted of Lord Hopetoun, Lord Hope and Lady Betty, along with Lady Betty's maid and four menservants. The account does not work out the total expenses separately for the journeys: dinner and lodgings cost about £40, and horses on one journey were 15 guineas. There are no horses mentioned on the southward trip, so possibly the expense is greater than it appears. Lady Findlater's habit of commenting on the inns is echoed by her relations, for this account also mentions various inns, usually unfavourably. The White Hart at Newcastle is described as 'good, clean and dear', while the Red Lion at Durham is disliked as it is at the top of a hill. Wentbridge receives faint praise as 'tollerable for baiting and even not bad to lye in'; the Black Bull at Stamford as 'not bad neither', and the Green Man at Barnet is dismissed as 'indifferent'. The inns are usually those patronised by the Findlaters, though the return journey via Liverpool, Penrith and Peebles is unusual. Like the Findlaters', the journey was protracted.

An earlier account of 1719-20 gives the details of Lord Hopetoun's trip to and from London:[8] he went south travelling post, the total cost being £18 7s 6d, and on the return journey he shared a coach with three other people, his quarter costing him £7 10s, with additional disbursements amounting to £8 for lodging and food, and another £2 15s for bringing two extra horses home with him.

When Lord Maxwell went to London from Edinburgh in 1725, the journey took 12 days. He took three of his own horses with him and hired

a fourth from stage to stage. On arrival in London, he sold the three horses. From the accounts of various other Scottish peers - Breadalbane, Marchmont, Alexander, second duke of Gordon, and his grandson, Alexander, fourth duke, and Anne, duchess of Buccleuch - all dating between 1695 and 1769, it seems that during the 18th century, in spite of the improvements in the road, the time usually taken has not decreased greatly, for Breadalbane in 1695 takes nine days on the journey, and Gordon in 1769 still needs seven. The cost has not risen much, but of course this depended on the degree of state thought necessary; Anne, duchess of Buccleuch, spent £151 on the trip, taking 15 days, but she travelled with a very large entourage, and all the bills for accommodation are very high: £7 9s 7d, for instance, for one night at Wetherby, when the bill included various joints for the servants, though the duchess herself only drank gruel, as well as chickens, bread and sugar for a picnic the next day.[9] There were also various tips to the servants and charity given to the poor. They stayed two nights at Berwick, and the bills note 24 gallons of ale to all the company and another 21 gallons since the duchess arrived, and again the food included a picnic for the following day: chickens and cheese, wrapped in paper, and two bottles of wine.

Breadalbane's journey in 1695 was accomplished in two stages: by hired coach and horses from Edinburgh to York, and then he and his four companions took places in the York coach to London. The whole journey took nine days: four to York, two nights there, and three more between York and London. Five seats in the York coach cost Breadalbane £11 5s. On the return trip in the same year, he took places again in the

York coach, and then hired horses to Edinburgh, taking eight days on the journey in all.[10] Breadalbane's next journey to London was in December of the same year, and this time he hired post horses all the way, which meant that the horses had to be given rests, and the journey extended to 17 days. The total cost this time was £27 16s 3d for three people; no servants are mentioned. The return from London in 1696 took 15 days and for this trip Breadalbane hired a third part of a coach and six horses which cost him £12. On this journey, the party spent two nights at both Newark and Alnwick.[11] John, second earl of Breadalbane, once hired a coach for the journey from London to Edinburgh in 1742 at 16 guineas.

Alexander, second duke of Gordon, went to London frequently, though his accounts do not usually detail the journey very clearly. Table 58 shows the dates and number of days taken on the various journeys between 1719 and 1728.[12] From this, Alexander went regularly to London in the autumn and returned to Gordon Castle via Edinburgh in the following spring. He usually took 13 or 14 days on the journey. The only exception was in 1726; he then had to make a hurried trip to London, when the Protestant faction in Moray was trying to gain possession of the duke's private (and Catholic) chapel, and Alexander needed the royal permission to retain his chapel for his own use. On this occasion, he managed the south journey in seven days, going by Haddington, Berwick, Belford, Newcastle, Durham, Ferrybridge, Wetherby, Doncaster and Ware, and, even in his haste, he managed to visit a hop garden at Belford on the way. He came back to Edinburgh eight weeks later in nine days, his mission accomplished.

Alexander usually hired a coach or part of one for the journey; half a coach cost £17 10s in 1721, and £14 14s in 1722. The same table (58) gives Alexander's disbursements on the journey south in 1724, in his own words. This shows that he was enjoying himself on the trip, playing cards and wagering bottles of wine. He does not mention his companions, and there is only one servant mentioned by name. Alexander was always charitable to the poor on the road, especially to anyone claiming to be a Gordon. The return journey was accomplished by hiring a coach from London as far as Ware at 30s, and then another to Ripon, and a third thence to Edinburgh at 12 guineas. On his way, Alexander visited the Catholic chapel at Newcastle. Another journey in 1727 was more eventful: when he reached Alnwick on the way south, the coach overturned, and Alexander recorded in his pocketbook, 'to man for much cair after our being overturn'd yet not hurt miraculusly 2s 6d'. He was then forced to hire two horses to reach Morpeth, and the rest of the trip was achieved without incident. On the north journey, Alexander hired half a coach at £15, and travelled via Biggleswade, Stevenage, Stamford, Grantham (where he bought a secondhand gun from Newton), Barnaby Moor, Doncaster, Wetherby, York, Durham, Newcastle (where the coach overturned again), Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Cockburnspath and Haddington.

Some of Alexander's journeys are documented by his servants, though the accounts do not give all the details. In 1706, for instance, Alexander went to London to marry Henrietta Mordaunt, and took Alexander Gordon, his servant, with him. This servant was in charge of disbursements on the journey south: he spent over £17; more than half of

this sum went on horsehire (£10), and the rest was spent on food and lodging (£4 10s), drinkmoney (£1 12s), and miscellaneous disbursements (£1 4s). On this occasion, the duke took his own coach as far as Newcastle, hiring horses at each stage for it, and then sent it back to Edinburgh and continued from Newcastle in the stage coach. He was accompanied by at least four servants.[13]

Another journey in 1717 from Gordon Castle to London is accounted for by Lewis Gordon. On this journey they reached Kinghorn, and hired horses south from there as far as Corby, a distance of 72 miles, and another two horses as far as Durham. After this, the duke travelled post, hiring four horses at each stage. The cost of the journey between Kinghorn and London amounted to £30 10s, distributed as follows: inns and food £7 18s, horsehire £15 10s, drinkmoney £3 2s, guides, poor and miscellaneous £4.[14]

There are many references to journeys to London in other collections of papers, including the Marchmont family. When Hugh, third earl of Marchmont, took his second wife to Scotland for the first time in 1748, they travelled by the great north road as usual. Lady Marchmont kept notes on the journey, but seldom gave practical details, apart from the fact that they travelled in a post chaise.[15] She dutifully recorded the curiosities which her husband took her to see: the park at Hatfield, Robin Hood's well, and a Roman pavement at Aldbrough, though she was perhaps more moved by the discovery that at Newark that there was no room in the best inn as the Archbishop of York was staying there. On the whole, her comments tend to be unfavourable. All she said of Brotherton was that it was the place where 'one of the King Edwards was born, tho

by its appearance you would not think it'. Nor was she attracted by Newcastle, for, after mentioning the bridge built like London bridge, with houses upon it, she dismissed the place as 'a very bad large town'. She does give the times of setting out in the morning, which is unusual, varying between 6.15 (once), 7 (five times), 7.30 (once), and 8 (twice). She calculated the distance between London and Redbraes as 322 miles, travelled in eight days.

Walter Scott of Harden usually spent about £20 on the journey between London and Edinburgh: £23 10s on the south journey via Adderbury and Oxford in 1750, and £21 19s 8d on the return north, and £19 3s on the south journey in 1753.

Apart from Hugh, earl of Marchmont, who was of a didactic turn of mind, few Scottish travellers seem to have taken the opportunity of sightseeing on the way. Cosmo George was occasionally diverted: in 1736, he went to the playhouse in Newcastle, and the gardens at Studley.[16] Two years earlier, when he and Charles were taken to London for the first time, their tutor took them to see various sights, including a ship at Dunbar, the Assembly Rooms and the cathedral at York, as well as Buckden palace and the gardens there.[17] In 1740, on the north journey, Cosmo George made a detour to see Holy Island, and when at Belford presented the huge sum of £2 6s to 'Old Hampshire and other countrymen there' for reasons unspecified.[18] He often stopped at Grantham to patronise Newton, the gunsmith, as his father had done, and once, in 1743, he visited Castle Howard.

Apart from accidents, usually the overturning of a coach, which sometimes happened, all these journeys seem remarkably free of mishaps,

though Lady Findlater's provision of gunpowder and flints indicates that the travellers were not entirely free from anxiety. Accidents are seldom recorded. Breadalbane in 1695 had to pay for extracting his coach from a bog between Darlington and Newcastle, but on the whole the great north road seems to have been devoid of incident. There is only one reference to Cosmo George's coach getting stuck: this occurred in 1739, when he had to pay a woman 10s 6d for a mare lost in extricating the coach. However, on one occasion at least, James, second duke of Atholl, was less fortunate, for on a journey in or about 1763, from London to Dunkeld, the chaise broke two springs and two linchpins, and the travellers suffered from water getting in to the vehicle four times, and they also had a narrow escape from falling into a coal pit.

The only alternative to travelling by road was to go by sea, but this was seldom done. Cosmo George only went by sea twice in his life. The first time was on the south journey in 1740: he went by road as far as South Shields, accompanied as usual by John Hamilton; there they boarded a collier which landed them at Gravesend, and there they hired a boat to Billingsgate. This trip was not repeated, so probably it was not a success. The other sea journey took place in May 1742. This time Cosmo George obtained leave from the Admiralty to go down to Scotland in a tender bound for Aberdeen, which landed him at Speymouth. He does not give any details of the time taken or cost.

Otherwise the sea route was only used for servants or baggage. Lady Findlater habitually sent two or three servants by sea both ways. This was useful on the north journey as they could look after the purchases made in London which would not fit into the coach with the Findlaters.

The servants usually went from Gravesend to Aberdeen direct, and overland to Cullen from there. Table 59 gives one such bill of 1741.[19] Lady Findlater's purchases in London for her Hopetoun relatives were often quite considerable. In 1756, these purchases included purple and white lustring, black ribbed silk stockings for Lord Hopetoun, worsted, silk and canvas for Lady Hopetoun's embroidery, and some household items, such as a brazier, a japanned bread basket, china and glass, glass lamps and spermaceti oil, and an expensive item, two pairs of silver fluted pillar candlesticks, costing nearly £60. Lady Hopetoun was in London herself in 1751, and on this occasion she did her own shopping, including porcelain from both the Chelsea and Bow factories, various lengths of material, an English tapestry fire screen, wigs, fans, ribbons, gloves and muslin, orange peel and wax candles, as well as Dr James's powders and a pound of rhubarb powder, the total amounting to £144.

The Gordons also frequently shipped goods and servants by sea. It was an easy way of sending awkward purchases such as large pieces of furniture or animals. Cosmo George and Alexander both used Peter Machattie, a London merchant, to arrange the passage, or buy any odd commission for them. The next table (60) gives details of the goods sent both ways between Scotland and London. On the whole, most of the items are bought in London for use in Scotland, but there are some articles needed by the family in London sent from home - the silver plate as well as provisions such as fish and butter. Some of the accounts merely state that so many barrels bulk were sent, and some of them are more detailed, showing the items bought - mainly luxuries which could not be bought at home, or were thought to be better because they came from England -

a coach and a chaise, crown glass from Newcastle, fans, books, guns, playing cards, hops, walking canes and snuff. The accounts often specify only the containers and there was a variety of these, ranging from paper and matted parcels to all the trunks, bags, boxes, cases, chests, hampers and bundles which any traveller collected without difficulty.

The port to which the goods were sent varied, presumably because the next ship happened to be going there, and it was easier to arrange transport at the far end rather than arrange to store the goods in London.

Animals were shipped quite frequently. Six young dogs were sent from London to Edinburgh in 1744 and were provided with oatmeal to eat on the journey. Squirrels, guineapigs, goldfish and poultry were also sent. Similarly, John, third earl of Breadalbane, sent pheasants, doves and a variety of pigeons by sea to Taymouth. At least, he sent them to Edinburgh by sea, and presumably they went overland from there. Unfortunately, there is no record of how he managed to transport the fire engine bought for Taymouth in 1764 from John Broadbent in London, complete with buckets.

The charges of shipping freight naturally varied. It was usually charged by the barrel, this costing about 3s or 3s 6d. Glass was charged at 3s the case, the silver plate in two boxes, weighing 23 stone 10 lb, was charged at 1s 9d the stone, and a box with five guineapigs, another with two squirrels, as well as a dog and a bitch along with six unspecified boxes and two hogsheads amounted to £5 1s 6d in all.

Servants shipped with the baggage were usually charged at a guinea for the journey between London and Aberdeen or Findhorn. An apothecary sent for from London to Edinburgh cost a guinea and a half. These were

all regular orders, but when the duke himself arranged a special delivery it was more expensive. When he was at Yarmouth in 1741, he commissioned Captain Thomas Lyon to deliver his purchases at Speymouth, consisting of 13 parcels, a measure and pole, three parcels and a clock case for John Gordon, the curator, some bottles of beer and wine and six bottles of cider. This was to cost £25. Cosmo George added casually in his letter to John Gordon announcing the arrival of this ship, that there were also some provisions, but the account of these must 'be left to his honesty as we have consumed some of them'.[20]

There are no household books for the Gordon family in London, so that there is no way of telling how many members of the family were there along with Cosmo George and Katherine. They were usually accompanied by some of their children, though the two elder boys were sent to Harrow at a very early age, and in the school holidays they and sometimes some of their sisters lived out at Enfield. The servants included valet and duchess's maid, secretary, cook and assistants, footmen, postilion, coachman, children's nurses and various maids.

As well as this basic unit, most Scottish families in London were accompanied by relations or friends. Nineteenth century novels dealing with big houses are always complete with the useful poor relation, and this was customary in the preceding century as well. The Gordons had various brothers and sisters, as well as Katherine's Murray relations and friends, and they all had second and third cousins, glad of an opportunity to live at the duke's expense. Similarly the Findlaters brought the children with them, and various Hopes and Grants. Marchmont was always accompanied by nephews and nieces, or his children and their

families, mostly Lord Kimmerghame's extensive and impoverished family who were often on visits to Marchmont, their uncle, or Lady Grisel Baillie, their aunt. Glenorchy had often to assist various Campbell cousins in London, and once at least had to pay for a funeral, that of Campbell of Carwhin. More distant relations and friends also expected hospitality: Brodie the Lyon once wrote home boasting that his London visit was costing him nothing as he was being maintained by the dukes of Atholl and Gordon.

The servants are better documented, for their wages were paid regularly wherever they were. The Gordon menservants were brought from Scotland, and moved round with the family between Gordon Castle, Edinburgh, London and Enfield, leaving a skeleton staff or caretaker behind. The female servants were usually English, and hired on arrival in London.

Most of the menservants remained with the family for some years. The butler, valet, footmen and postilion were old retainers and were kept in England at their lower Scottish wages. The posts of cook, coachman and secretary were better paid, but the turnover for cook and coachman at least was rapid. Peter Cooper, the London cook for 1747-9, was paid £15 yearly, along with an allowance for washing, and his successor, William Forbes, got the enormous sum of 25 guineas while he remained with the family, 1749-52. Robert Gordon, the secretary who succeeded John Hamilton, received £25 yearly. The coachmen never stayed long, and they were all paid £6. The other men servants were very badly paid: butler £5, footmen £3 till 1747 when the wage was raised to £4, and valet £15.

In comparison with other London households, the Gordon wages were low. When Hugh, third earl of Marchmont, was living in London during

the years 1738-43, his servants were definitely better paid. His cook received the huge sum of £42 yearly, and his coachman £15-£16, while the others were much the same as their Gordon counterparts: valet £15, groom £5, postilion £4, butler £10, and footmen £4-£8. There are no women servants mentioned though they were presumably under Lady Marchmont's direction. However, even larger wages may not have made the position of coachman to Lord Marchmont more acceptable, for Marchmont had principles, and notes on his list of servants, against the coachman, 'if drunk to be immediately turned away'; on another occasion he dismissed a cook, with the balance of his wages unpaid, for Marchmont suspected that he had been disposing of supplies bought for the kitchen.

The Duke of Newcastle's London servants were also better paid and there were more of them; his house was staffed by 22 servants, 15 men and seven women, and their annual wages in 1752 amounted to £738.[21] Some of these posts correspondended to those in the Gordon household: the cook got £30 instead of the Gordon £25, the footmen £7-£8 compared to the Gordon £3-£4, valet £25 instead of £15, while the housemaids were all paid about £5-£6 as were the Gordon maids, this presumably being the standard London rate. Newcastle's household also contained servants not noted elsewhere, such as an apothecary at £100 yearly, and two chairmen, each getting £30, and the total cost included £140 for liveries, so that really the wages amounted only to £600 yearly, or £500 if the apothecary is omitted.

Apart from Mrs Panton, Katherine's woman, all the female servants were hired in England, leaving those at Gordon Castle to look after the house, or dismissing the extras. The English servants were well paid

compared with their Scottish equivalents, for the chambermaids, laundrymaids, housemaids, kitchen and scullery maids all received about £6 yearly, that is, twice as much as the Scottish footmen, and considerably more than they would have received at Gordon Castle, where £1 10s to £2 was the usual wage for a maid. In spite of this, the English maids never stayed long, changing annually if not more often, which results in awkward calculations for payment for periods like three months and ten days. Unfortunately there is never any reference to show whether the maid was dismissed or left in a huff.

The numbers varied a little. The female servants employed in 1751, not counting Mrs Panton and the nurses or children's maids, were, one laundrymaid, two housemaids, two kitchenmaids, one cookmaid and one scaldrymaid. Only one of the maids had been employed in 1749-50. The list for 1752 was four housemaids, three kitchenmaids, one cookmaid and two laundrymaids. The regulars received £5-£6 yearly, except the laundrymaid who got £7. The casual labour was only hired occasionally to help out at 3s the week.

The children's nurses are not listed together; while they were nursing the children they were paid 10 guineas yearly. There was also another woman employed to look after the children, perhaps a governess or superior maid, but her wages are not stated anywhere.

It is difficult to find any kind of comparison, for most of the other Scottish families visiting London hired lodgings complete with service. The Findlaters did this, and brought two or three menservants with them, and so, apart from a general tip at the end of their stay, no other servants are mentioned in the accounts. Glenorchy never lists his English servants.

They appear when wanted to escort him to the theatre, take master to school or buy provisions, or sometimes when unwanted, as when the cook runs away, a housemaid levants with the housekeeping money, or a maid has toothache. One maid is oddly called Love Paine, though not the one with the afflicted tooth. Glenorchy did take an interest in his staff, for he once paid a schoolmaster to teach the kitchen boy to read and write, and also a baker to teach him to bake, along with lessons from the king's cook in the royal kitchens, but this boy must have been unusual and have shown an aptitude for his work.

The short household book for the Buccleuch household at Blackheath lists the servants, though only for a few months in the summer of 1741.[22] From this, the household consisted of the duke and duchess, Lord Brudenal, who is living with the Buccleuchs at this point, various guests and about 17 servants: two ladies' maids, a housekeeper, five or six 'gentlemen' (that is, valets), a cook, butler, kitchenmaid, two housemaids, a gardener and three footmen.

Apart from this lack of information on the servants in general, there is rather more detail available for some of the menservants individually, for the more responsible ones kept accounts of their own disbursements which were refunded later.

The accounts kept by James Black, the Gordon butler, show that in London he acted as housekeeper.[23] His accounts deal mainly with purchases of provisions for the house. Mostly he bought greengrocery and poultry and sometimes the fish. Table 61 gives his account for June 1748 to May 1749. His accounts are not always precise and when quantities are not specified, the number after the item indicates the times

that article was bought during the month. Apart from buying food, James Black bought odd things for the house - cleaning chimneys, mending china, beating carpets, arranging for straw to be put down in the road when Katherine lay in, and despatching Cosmo George's robes to the Lords by coach. He also purchased small items for the boys: shoes, worsted for darning their stockings, buttons to replace those missing from their waistcoats, tarts or cheesecakes for a treat or a toy coach.

None of this sounds as if Black had much initiative, so this may explain the small wage given to him. Thomas Mackie, the Findlater butler, had a more varied life, and his accounts, given in table 62, for the first half of 1739, show a rather wider selection of duties.[24] Like his Gordon colleague, he bought newspapers and paid for letters, but he also bought pamphlets for Lord Findlater, and purchased his writing materials including pens, ink, wafers and writing paper. Other payments include household items, mostly cleaning materials, and services for other members of the family - soling Lady Findlater's shoes, grinding Lord Deskford's razors, buying a stick for Lord Findlater, and tipping other servants or buying medicines.

Various Gordon footmen also kept personal accounts of their payments on duty. Thomas Black's accounts, given in table 63, for October 1748 to May 1749, show that he was expected to accompany the duke in his coach and pay the various turnpikes.[25] He also paid for coaches hired for a short journey, paid chairmen and ferries and was despatched into the city on business, with a subsistence rate of sixpence a day. He again accompanied the duke when dining out, either at a tavern or with friends, or to a masquerade. Sometimes he paid for refreshments for

the family on a journey: wine returning from Colchester, cider at Enfield, and wine and food on the Downs. Odd payments included bitters from the apothecary and payments to the poor, as well as lending the duke sixpence. William Fife, the duchess's footman, accompanied her when she went out.[26] The next table (64) shows where they went during 1750-2. He also went with her when she was ill and was sent out to take the air. The places visited include Barnet and Epsom races, the pleasure gardens at Ranelagh, and further afield to Scarborough and York. Fife was also among those sent to fetch the boys from Harrow.

Andrew Innes, another footman, was a favourite of the duke's, and was often given money to spend for him, usually half a guinea at a time. His boardwages and disbursements for the duke from August 1747 to August 1748 amounted to nearly £20, of which over three quarters had already been paid in instalments.[27]

Andrew Reid, postilion, also kept accounts, which are very similar to Thomas Black's.[28] They are also shown in table 64, which gives the places he went to in 1750-2 along with Cosmo George and Katherine. He paid for turnpikes and coach repairs or replacing horseshoes.

Odd accounts of other servants include kitchen items bought by the cook, chocolate and hair powder by the valet, lottery tickets and Dresden ruffles by another valet, and small items for the children by Katherine's maid.

Unlike the household at Gordon Castle, these living-in servants were not augmented by various workers on the estate, but in town there were other arrivals at the back door who were probably given a handout in the same way. All the tradesmen patronised by the family delivered

their wares, and the individual servants bringing the goods were tipped at Christmas. The list for 1750 mentions sums varying between 1s and 2s 6d, distributed to the servants of the tailor, saddler, barber, newspaper carrier, baker, lamplighter, farrier, letter carrier, oilman, hatter, watchman, coachmaker, waterman, poulterer, fishmonger, shaving barber, brewer, glazier and butcher, as well as the dust carriers and church beadles.[29]

The Gordon children stayed in London with their parents, or went to school. The two elder boys were despatched to Harrow, and the girls were taught at home.

At Harrow, Alexander and William lodged with Dr Thomas Thackeray. Board was charged at £25 yearly each, with extra for sweeping the school, candles, a fire in their room, cleaning shoes, extraordinary washing and books. The total expended at Harrow during the year 1749 was £76. During this year, both boys caught measles, and were attended by Francis Mitchell, who went out to Harrow to bleed both of them. They both progressed through the same books, the Bible and book of common prayer, grammars and accidences, dictionaries and Latin poets. Their parents were apparently not satisfied with their progress, for during the vacation William Cudworth was employed to give the boys additional lessons. Extra writing lessons at Harrow were also given, by William Reeves, who charged 3 guineas for a month's private teaching of both boys. Other additions to the bill included whey for their health and chickens to tempt them to eat after the measles.

Charges at other schools were much the same. Patrick Home, son of Lord Kimmerghame, went to Eton in 1721, when half a year's board and

study cost his father £15 10s, with extra for fires, candles, shoe cleaning and mending. He was a more boisterous boy than the Gordon children, for other additions to his bill at Eton included replacing broken windows and paying for damage done to his study. His books were more advanced, for he was reading Caesar, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Cicero, Boethius and Martial, as well as Echard's Roman History. He was made to drink asses' milk for his health and in fact died young.[30]

Similarly, the young Wauchope of Niddrie was sent to Eton in 1719, and remained there for four years. His pocket money began at £1 8s 6d the quarter, rising eventually to £2 2s 6d, while his board was charged at £15 13s 8d the quarter, with candles extra, or at £15 19s 4d including candles. Like Patrick Home, he was reading the Latin classics at an early age, though he also purchased a collection of Scots proverbs and a life of Montrose. He too was taught by Dr Bland, as Patrick Home was, and was also given French lessons. Wauchope, like the Gordon children, was attended by a servant while at school, Wauchope's being paid £5 yearly, with 6s a week as board wages. Wauchope mentions some of his amusements while at Eton: these include visiting the Duke of Montrose's gardens, Blenheim, Shrewsbury House and Cliveden, and once he went out in a boat.[31]

Other members of the Scots nobility sent their children to smaller or London schools. Sir Ludovick Grant's sons went to Westminster School during 1747-9, and then to Cambridge. Lord Chesterfield's son also attended Westminster School. Glenorchy's shortlived sons went daily to Marylebone school, but he does not give details of what they were taught in his accounts. Six months' schooling and incidental charges amounted

to nearly £17 in 1739. Tips to the French master, two ushers and the servants were distributed at Christmas as at Harrow and Eton. The next half year's schooling cost Glenorchy £15, and the next £26. The school may not have been a success, for the youngest boy had a private tutor, who received £80 yearly, making a private education considerably more expensive than education at school.

When at home the Gordon boys were still attended by James Bennet, Cosmo George's valet. He paid for their clothes and shoes, and took them on various outings, such as a raree show and a fair, as well as a public execution, the play, the royal stables and Marylebone gardens. He also gave money to freaks to amuse the boys, including a woman dwarf, a man who pretended to break his limbs, a man without hands or feet, and some kind of animal which played at cards. Bennet also paid the boys' hairdresser and for washing and food. Treats included cherries, apricots, sugar candy, pastries, apples and wine.

There is less information about the girls. The two younger ones were sickly children, and were either ill in London or sent to Enfield or Harrow to convalesce. Susan, the eldest, was given writing lessons by William Cudworth, who also tutored her brothers during their holidays. He charged a guinea a month for teaching her for the first month and then 3 guineas for four months, rising by 1750 to a guinea a month again. There are no receipts for lessons for the younger girls. Katherine suffered from a tumour in her side, which had to be opened by Mitchell, and then needed plasters and ointments. The bill for her for 1751 amounted to £68. Anne was also ill and was sent with her maid to Harrow for 45 weeks at 15s the week.

When the girls were in London, Katherine's maid attended to them. She bought what they needed in the way of clothes as well as shoes, ribbons, stays and mending. Their governess or superior maid, Sophia Bisset, also noted her outlays for the young ladies, which were mainly composed of pins and silk and once a sampler with some deep blue silk.

Lady Betty Hope, daughter of the second earl of Hopetoun, spent four years in London for her education in 1748-51.[32] She was boarded with relatives, first of all with Lady Charlotte Erskine, who charged 2 guineas a month for lodging and £2 a month for board. During her second two years in London, Betty stayed with Lady Margaret Grant, who made no charge for board or lodging.

The lessons mentioned during these years show that Betty was musical. She had lessons on the harpsichord and violin, as well as in drawing and dancing. Her music teacher was John Keble, and she played Handel's overtures arranged for harpsichord and Scarlatti's lessons. A harpsichord, bought for her from Schudi, was described as a double keyboard instrument with harp stop, and cost £55. She also owned or at least used a clavichord, which was tuned by Schudi for her.

Apart from her lessons, there is little to show how she passed her time, for her father refused to let her 'come out', protesting that she was too young, that clothes would be very expensive, and that she would be spoiled. During these four years, disbursements on clothes and incidental expenses amounted to £300, and lessons to another £460. Her maid was with her, and was paid £8 yearly while in London. The entertainments mentioned otherwise are visits to Ranelagh, and plays and oratorios.

Living in London was very much more expensive than at home, for

things tended to cost more, and everything had to be bought. At home, the estate supplied most of the main articles of consumption, which was easier and cheaper than bringing it from a distance, but in London, all the essentials had to be purchased. The luxuries were perhaps less expensive, but the main articles of diet cost more. However, provident families could have some things sent from Scotland: salmon, salt fish and pork could all be shipped in barrels, and so could butter and oatmeal.

The Gordon housekeeping in London is well documented, with all the bills kept and endorsed. The main items of housekeeping came from 15 different merchants: grocer, milkman, buttermonger, candlemaker, brewer, coal merchant, charcoalmonger, eggmonger, greengrocer, butcher, poulterer, fishmonger, baker, confectioner and pastrycook. Often the same supplier was patronised on succeeding visits to London, and some of the accounts continue from 1735 when the duke first visited London till his death in 1752.

Most of the accounts cover the period 1747-52 when Cosmo George lived mainly in England. The perishables were delivered daily, and a weekly or monthly bill sent in. A double supply was usually bought on the Saturday, though some shops also delivered on Sunday.

Taking the merchants individually, and beginning with the grocer, whose accounts start in 1747: his name was William Floodgate; he described himself as a chandler,[33] and he supplied the groceries till 1749, when he was succeeded by William Harris, who called himself a chandlershopman,[34] and supplied the same kind of goods, though possibly, at the beginning at least, a little more cheaply. They both delivered daily, usually only one or two items, but sometimes a large order.

The chandlers supplied the bulk of the everyday provisions used, but the more expensive items came from a more exclusive grocer, an oilman, so called because most of his stock was imported, including the olive oil. The duke patronised a variety of these oilmen, including Elizabeth Potts and her son John, who carried on business at the Black Boy in Grace Church Street,[35] and then later, John Jackson.[36] The usual items bought apart from the olive oil were anchovies, capers, olives, morels and truffles. Supplies were bought less frequently, once a week, or once or twice a month. Larger supplies were bought when the family was returning to Scotland, which would last till their return, though goods could be ordered by post and sent by sea. Tea and sugar usually came from merchants who specialised in these commodities. Tea usually came along with the sugar, but on occasion it was bought from John Twyning, who called himself a grocer, and carried on his trade in Bishop Gate Street, on the corner of Devonshire Street,[37] or from Elizabeth Browning,[38] whose bills do not give her address. Sugar was always bought from one firm, which supplied most of the Scots visitors to London, Wilson and Thornhill, at the Three Sugar Loaves at the West End of St Paul's, who as their tradecard announces 'sell the best coffee, tea, chocolate, sago, harts horn, vermacelli, startch and blue'.[39] Sugar was usually sold in loaves. Plain loaf sugar cost $7\frac{1}{2}$d per pound, treble refined $8\frac{1}{2}$d, and the very expensive Lisbon 52s. This last was only bought in very small quantities, usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds at a time. The firm also sent parcels to the Gordons in Scotland and at Enfield. Tea was also sold: green at 17s, congou at 12s and hysson at 19s the pound, while coffee was cheaper at 4s 6d and chocolate at 4s. Other supplies

included spices and dried fruits. The ordinary grocer supplied all the usual groceries, though some of them sound a little strange, for no grocer now sells rappee, hartshorn shavings, and gunpowder, while herrings, toothpicks, wax and truffles come from specialist suppliers. Most of the spices came from the grocer, and the relishes from the oilman. The latter included capers, anchovies, bottles of Durham flour, India cabbage, ketchup, bottled mushrooms, truffles, morels and two kinds of olives.

Milk came from three suppliers - Mary Macklen 1747-8,[40] Alice Kentish 1748-9,[41] and Jenkin Edwards 1750-2.[42] They all sold milk in quarts and cream in pints, as well as whey and curd. The average consumption of milk was well over 100 quarts of milk a month: 142 in January 1748, down to 115 in January 1751 and up again to 173 in May 1752. Cream varied more: only 5 pints in January 1748, then 30 in January 1751, and 25 in May 1752. On one occasion, 18 quarts of milk were supplied for the horses; presumably it was reckoned unfit for human consumption. Prices of milk varied according to the season: 1½d a quart in summer and 2d in winter. Cream usually cost 8d per pint.

The buttermonger was John Cranmer, 1749-50,[43] followed by Edward Bevin, 1750-2.[44] Butter was simultaneously supplied in pounds and lumps. The size of the lump seems to vary, but from the price, it was usually about two pounds in weight. Cambridge butter was also supplied, and always in pounds, costing an extra halfpenny per pound. It always came in large quantities, usually 7 or 14 pounds at a time. Eggs, bacon and lard were sometimes also sold by the buttermonger. Like milk, the price of butter varied with the season: 6d per pound in summer and 6½d

in winter. Lumps varied in price between 1s 2d and 1s 6d. Fresh butter was cheaper at 5d per pound.

Candles came from a variety of suppliers and varied in price. The most expensive were sold by Penelope Bedcott, who described herself as a wax chandler in Pall Mall,[45] and was succeeded by William Bedcott who transferred the business to Berkeley Square.[46] They sold large flambeaux for special occasions, yellow at 2s and white at 2s 6d each. They also sold wax lights at 2s 6d per pound. Their bills had the suitable heading as motto 'truth is the light'. Sealingwax was sold by the same firm at 6s the pound. Another supplier, John Chatfield, specialised in spermaceti candles which cost a guinea a dozen.[47] Much less expensive lighting came from John Tickner, who supplied ordinary candles at 8d per pound, and smaller ones at 6d,[48] James Slatford at 1s 4d for a dozen common candles,[49] Samuel Vere at 6s 8d for a dozen plain and 7s 10d for moulded.[50] Also patronised were Patrick MacFarland (27s for 12 lb of wax candles),[51] William Harris (flambeaux at a shilling each),[52] and Ann Davies who was recommended by a Miss Lloyd;[53] she sold the family 12 dozen candles at 25s the dozen, the total amounting to £15. She was not patronised again, so the candles may not have been good.

As at Gordon Castle, the amount of candle used varied according to the season, for more were needed in winter. The flambeaux were only used on special occasions - 12 in 1748, 6 in 1749, 16 in 1750, 24 in 1751 and 18 in 1752. The common cheap candles were used in large quantities all the time - 48 dozen in 1749 and in 1750, 56½ in 1751. Wax lights were also used, but in smaller amounts - 60 pounds in 1751 and 128 in 1752.

Beer was not brewed at home in London, so it had to be bought. Edward Cartwright, who was described by Cosmo George in his endorsement on the bills as 'a Dorchester beer man' supplied Dorchester beer in hogsheads at £4 10s each, with casks at 12s and iron hoops at 5s 3d extra.[54] Small beer was cheaper at 10s the barrel: this came from various suppliers - Widow Mary Aynscombe, brewer in Knightsbridge,[55] and then later from William Nourse,[56] Richard Wincanton,[57] James Smith and his wife,[58] and Samuel Hare.[59] Most of these brewers also supplied ale in barrels at £2. Hops were also bought, from James Wilshin, to be sent to Gordon Castle.[60]

During 1748, $4\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of ale and $76\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of small beer were drunk. In 1751, the total was 53 barrels of small beer and no ale at all.

Coal was nearly always sold in chalders. It usually came from John Milxan, 1741-51.[61] The coal bills are not only for the coal supplied but for shooting it and brushes. Ten chalders of coal cost £16 13s 4d in 1750, with another 6s 6d for shooting and 200 brushes at 16s 8d. Alternatively, shooting and meetage were charged: in 1751, $10\frac{1}{2}$ chalders cost 32s per chalder, £16 in all, and shooting and meetage extra at 10s. The coal supplied was either sea coal or Scots coal: the former cost £1 13s 8d per chalder including shooting, or 3s per sack, and Scots coal cost 29s per ton, with 1s for shooting. Cartage was extra: 13s for 3 tons, on one occasion, when it was bought from a ship, presumably from Scotland. This time the coal came from a different coalman, John Dingwall.[62] John Milxan, the usual supplier, either specifies sea coal or does not mention the kind.

In 1748, the household used $21\frac{1}{4}$ chalders and 6 sacks: in 1750 the

quantities were 30 chalders and 7½ tons, and in 1751, 52 chalders. Coal was supplemented as fuel by charcoal, which cost 2s 4d per sack. It was invariably bought from Adam Parker, charcoalman.[63] During 1749, 34 sacks were needed (all in March to May of that year), in 1750 the number of sacks had risen to 88 and again in 1751 to 129.

Eggs were bought from various suppliers: from the eggmonger in person, as well as the butterman and the grocer. They usually cost 2d each, except sometimes in the summer when the price dropped to 1½d. These were fresh eggs from the eggmonger; cheaper eggs were sold along with the butter at prices varying from 6d to 9½d per dozen. The eggmonger was always careful to specify his eggs as fresh or newlaid, though he also sold what he called common eggs, costing ½d or 1d each. His eggs were sold separately, not by the dozen, and the household ate about a hundred a month, the numbers varying between 18 in May 1748 and 142 in May 1752. During the years 1745-8, the eggmonger was John Heath;[64] after 1749 the eggs were supplied by William Harris, the grocer,[65] who sent in his egg bill as a separate account. Common eggs were sold in much larger quantities: 33 dozen in November 1750, 38 dozen in December 1751 and 29 dozen in May 1752.

From 1747 to 1749, fruit and vegetables came from Anne Rice, who was described by Cosmo George as a 'greenwoman'.[66] She was succeeded by James Warren, 1750-2.[67]

They both supplied a large selection of fruit and vegetables, sending every day except Sundays. The staples were asparagus, cabbage, carrots, celery, greens (unspecified), herbs, leeks, mushrooms, onions, parsley, spinach and turnips, but many other vegetables were also sold.

More unusual ones included wormwood, balm, hyssop, escarolle, marigolds, nettles, pennyroyal and tansy. Potatoes also appear frequently, though not every month, and usually in small quantities - 3 lb in January 1748, 4 lb in May 1750, up to 20 lb in January 1751, and down again to 4 lb in April and 11 lb in March 1752. Potatoes are the only vegetable to be sold in pounds; usually the bills specify bunches, ropes, heads or dishes. A dish seems to be a particularly elastic measure, especially when applied to mushrooms or spinach, when the price could vary between 6d and 2s for a dish of mushrooms, and 4d-8d for spinach. Mushrooms were also sold in pottles, costing 4s or 4s 6d. Vegetables and fruit sold to the Gordons are listed in table 65. Fruit only appears in small quantities, except for oranges and lemons which are bought mostly from the grocer. They appear little in the greengrocer's bills, and apples, though bought in large quantities in some months, are completely lacking in others. In April 1749 the following fruits were sent: 159 apples and four oranges. Naturally fruit appears much more often in the summer and autumn, usually from a different supplier. In June 1750, the family ate five dishes of cherries, three of currants and four quarterns of gooseberries. Strawberries, wild and cultivated, were sold in baskets at 3s a time. Cherries were named - scarlets, dukes, and howboys - and sold in pounds or pottles, both at 3s, or baskets at 2s 6d.[68] Apricots cost 1s 6d per hundred, grapes 9d a plate and peaches cost 3d and quinces 1½d each. Pears were named as Bury at 1d each, and apples included golden pippins and nonpareils. Walnuts cost 1s 6d per hundred.

Meat was always purchased from one butcher, Thomas Wade,

1747-52.[69] His accounts are rather unsatisfactory, for while he intermittently notes the kind of meat supplied, most of the time he just writes 'meat 31 lb', and gives no further details. As a result, it is possible to say that the household consumed 875 lb of meat in May 1751, but the only varieties mentioned in this figure are $4\frac{3}{4}$ lb of rump steak and 17 lb of veal. The rest is presumably made up of mutton and beef, but the amounts are not specified. As well as meat sold by the pound or stone, a very large amount of offal was eaten. The pieces specified include hog's feet and ears, tripe, calf's head, brains, feet, plucks, palates, tongues and udders, sweetbreads, and sheep's head and feet, kidneys, trotters, lamb's head, tail and stones, ox feet and tongue, pig's pettitoes and lamb's fry. Marrowbones were also eaten, and once a heart. The staples are beef and mutton, with veal and pork in smaller quantities. The prices remain constant: beef and mutton at $3\frac{1}{2}$d per pound; pork at 4d and veal at 6d. Sometimes the price fell, as in June 1752, when veal was sold at $3\frac{1}{2}$d per pound, though beef and mutton remained at the same price. Later in the month veal had risen to 4d. Large chunks of animals were also eaten: lamb's shoulder, fore and hind quarters, loin, leg and neck, as well as whole pigs, rump steaks and occasionally a haunch of venison. This last was very expensive at 13s 6d or once 38s.

It is possible to make up a conjectural pattern from these accounts; it looks as if a very large quantity of beef is bought roughly once a week, usually several stones in weight, sometimes as many as 13, more often 7-8. On other days a smaller amount is purchased, 20-40 lbs a day, as well as pieces of lamb and offal.

The poulterer, John Cranmer, was also patronised throughout the period 1747 to 1752.[70] He mainly supplied chickens, fowls and rabbits as the staples, but other more exotic birds were also available, including larks (sold by the dozen), wild duck, teal, woodcock and snipe. Cranmer also sold eggs but very seldom specified the number, as well as sausages and sweetbreads. Pheasants and partridges also appear, but not often, apart from once in February 1748 when 19 partridges were bought. Pheasants never appear more than once in any month. Geese and turkeys appear more often: up to four geese and six turkeys in a month. Hares are never eaten, though leverets do appear infrequently. Sometimes the bird is supplied ready larded which puts up the price by sixpence. Usually partridges are supplied in braces, and in that case, only one of them is larded. Larding a capon was more expensive at a shilling a time. The poulterer was also prepared to lard meat sold by the butcher - lamb at a shilling and leverets and sweetbreads at sixpence each. As well as being sold plain, pullets and turkeys were also sent with eggs, which added sixpence to the price. Giblets in pairs, combs, livers and stones were also sold. Sometimes the hens are sent alive, costing 1s 9d or 1s 11d, while chickens cost 2s, pullets 2s 3d and fowls 2s.

Fish always came from Samuel Munday, 1747-52.[71] He supplied eight kinds of shellfish (cockles, oysters, shrimps, crayfish, lobster, prawns, scallops and crabs), and 19 kinds of fish, and eels too. Some of the kinds of fish also appear in various ways, cod plain, and crimped, cod's head and codling, as well as salmon plain, pickled and jowl. Brawn was also sold at 1s 3d per pound. The staples were cod, haddock,

lobster, oysters, salmon, shrimps and smelts, but others appear less frequently, such as trout, pike and halibut, and even sturgeon occasionally. Most of the fish was bought whole, except salmon and sturgeon, which were sold by the pound. Oysters were bought by the bushel or fraction of a bushel, and shrimps by the pint. Sole were sold in pairs. Naturally more fish was eaten in winter when the family was in town, and it kept better then. Oysters appear nearly all year, regardless of whether there was an 'r' in the month or not. They always cost 3s 6d the bushel and were eaten in large quantities - 5 bushels in December 1747 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in October 1750. The usual monthly total was between one and three bushels. Prawns were sold in multiples of 25; between 75 and 475 per month. Herring does not appear much; 56 were eaten in October 1750, but this is very unusual. The fashionable piece of cod was its head, which in fact included about half the whole fish, and this was eaten frequently - up to four times a month. Jowl of salmon was also enjoyed, and contemporary recipe books give various methods of cooking this piece.

The London fish was eked out by dried fish sent from Scotland. In 1749, two casks arrived from Fraserburgh by boat, freight and other dues amounting to 7s 2d. Acquaintances also sent fish, possibly in reply to a hint, for John Leith, Horse Wharf, wrote to the duke's secretary in July 1750, sending six cod and six ling, as the duke had said to him the previous night that he would like some fish. Leith also sent two mutton hams, remarking that 'his grace seems to be fond of what comes from the country'.[72]

Three bakers were patronised: David Low 1747-8,[73] James Lovell

1748,[74] and David Morice 1748-52.[75] The bread supplied was usually quartern loaves, but flour (pecks), groats (quarters), bran (bushels), ashes (pecks), cakes and biscuits (dozens) and rolls were also bought. Pies, puddings and other items made at home were also taken to the baker to be cooked in his oven.

David Low usually sold bread in half peck quarter loaves, costing between 1s 3d and 1s 5¼d depending on the price of flour, but also in smaller loaves costing between 3d and 10d. Bran usually cost 1s the bushel, rolls 1d each, flour 2s the peck, oatmeal 3s the quarter and groats 4d. He also sold bricks and raspings, and baked extensively for the cooks, the articles mentioned including cakes, patties, pies, puffs, beef steak pie, gingerbread and puddings.

James Lovell was only patronised for four weeks in the summer of 1748, when his loaves cost 5½d, flour 1s 10d the peck, bran 1s the bushel and baking unspecified items at 2d each.

David Morice supplied the household for the rest of the duke's life. His prices varied according to the price of flour. The loaves were usually quartern ones costing between 5¼ and 6d each. The amount consumed monthly varied between 81 and 148 in 1751. Morice also sold ordinary flour usually at 1s 10d the peck and finest flour at double the price, as well as groats, bran, ashes, biscuits, rolls, oatmeal and cakes. Like the other bakers he cooked the pies and other articles which needed an oven, but his bills do not specify these, apart from the usual cost of a penny a time, apart from a few occasions: once 10 pies cost 1s 3d to bake, and a large pie cost 2d. Rolls were either Scots or French, the latter costing a penny or 1½d each.

During 1751, the prices of quartern loaves varied like this: 1-17 January 5d; to 8 May, 5¼d; to July, when the family left London, 5½d; they returned in November when the price was 6d; and finally on 6 December it fell to 5¾d for the rest of the year.

Puddings were usually bought ready made from the confectioner or pastrycook, especially on grand occasions. The confectioner also supplied the sweetmeats which appeared on the table at the end of a meal. The Gordon household patronised a confectioner in New Bond Street called Richard Robinson.[76] He sold a variety of puddings and sweetmeats, including elaborate made up dishes, such as dishes of jellies and biscuits, jellies and syllabubs or jellies and oranges. These were expensive, costing about 14s each. Cheaper and simpler puddings were blancmanges (usually spelled 'bloomange') at 6s, whole oranges and quarters at 3s, jellies often sold a dozen at a time at 6s, and ice cream at 3s. Sweetmeats included lemon drops at 4s the pound, orange quarters at 1s 6d, pistachio nuts at 1s 6d the plate or 2s the pound, comfits at 4s the pound, barley sugar at 2s, burnt almonds at 3s and orange faggots at 3s the ounce. These were all dry sweetmeats, and the wet kind is seldom specified: only apricots, sold in pots. Robinson also sold ice to keep his products cold at 2d the pound. Cakes were sold too: plum cake at 2 guineas, or smaller ones for half that sum, seedcake at half a guinea and also ratafia biscuits and sponge cakes.

Similar items were sent by the pastrycook, but the emphasis was on baked dishes - tarts, pies, biscuits and cakes - and, like the baker, he baked what the Gordon cook had made. A variety of pastrycooks was patronised: Anne and Thomas Palmer 1747-9,[77] and Lydia Howard 1750-2,[78]

were the usual suppliers. The Palmers were not ambitious, and their efforts were usually confined to tarts and pies, while Lydia Howard had a wider range, including puddings such as jellies, raspberries and apricots, and savouries such as hams, beef and tongue.

The supply varied a good deal, probably depending on the amount of entertaining the Gordons were doing at the time. In November 1748, all that was sent from the pastrycook was 10 small tarts, nine tongues, 10 mincepies and one pattiepie, while in January 1752, a much larger variety was produced: 31 small tarts, five larger ones, six tongues, five dozen biscuits, three glasses of jelly, one cake, a shillingsworth of ham, 23 macaroons, and baking a puff and seven puddings.

Tarts seem to be the most popular item: these are not usually specified, but sometimes apple tarts, creamed, sweetmeat tarts, currant tarts and mincepies appear, as well as giblet pie. Among the items baked for the Gordon cook were pears, mutton and pigeons, as well as the more ordinary pies, tarts, puffs and puddings.

Sometimes another pastrycook was patronised: John Warner sold crocants at 7s each,[79] and J. Theobald, who was described by the Gordon butler as a French pie baker, once sold him a 'pating' pie at 18s.[80]

All these details of household expenditure are taken from the various suppliers' bills, which have been kept complete for 1747-52, probably by the Gordon butler. As a specimen all the bills for 1751 have been taken and the totals are given in table 66. Because the family left London in July and did not return till November, little was supplied during the summer - just enough to maintain the caretaker or odd servant left, and items ordered for the following winter, such as coal. This

means that the monthly totals vary between 5s in October and £96 4s in December. As a rule the average is about £50.[81]

The butler acted as housekeeper while in London, and he paid the individual merchants weekly. His accounts give the weekly totals from December 1747 to June 1752, and table 67 gives his weekly disbursements. The butcher is by far the most expensive supplier, with meat costing between £2 and £3 while the family was in residence, sinking to 18s-20s while it was not. Grocery and poultry are next in price, though they both vary considerably. The chandler's bills sometimes include butter. The confectioner is not often patronised, though his bills are large when he is, once up to £7 12s 6d for one week in December 1748.

The next table (68) gives the yearly totals for 1751 showing what the duke spent on food during the year, or at least the eight months during which he was there, compared with what his son, Alexander, fourth duke, spent there on a visit of seven months in 1792, forty years later. The total is nearly up by half again, the rises in meat, greengroceries and milk being especially noticeable. Even then the second account does not mention coal which must have been used, though the other missing items, such as butter and eggs, may be included with the milk or groceries, and the pastrycook and confectioner were probably not needed when the Gordon French chef was in residence.

The following table (69) lists the individual items supplied, in 1751, January to July and November to December, the time when the family was in London. A few articles are bought in its absence in the summer, but not many.

The Findlaters afford an excellent contrast, for their accounts give

details of their household disbursements on their London visits. Lady Findlater has not kept all the household bills, but Thomas Mackie, her butler, kept a household book, entering all his disbursements, and Lady Findlater checked it carefully. They were in London from January to June 1739 and November 1739 to April 1740.[82] Table 70 shows the accounts for this period. Mackie does not always specify the quantities, and when, for example, brickdust in an unknown quantity is supplied twice in one month, this shown in the table as 2x. The articles have been arranged in suitable sections on the model of the Gordon accounts, for the butler does not mention the individual suppliers.

From these lists the Findlaters obviously lived in a more economical manner, with fewer servants and visitors. They are not complete, for the butcher and baker and probably the coalmerchant and fishmonger supplied other accounts which Lady Findlater did not keep. An exception in 1759 gives two bills for butcher and baker, though the weekly totals are all that is mentioned. The one week for meat contains $14\frac{3}{4}$ lb beef, $11\frac{1}{4}$ lb veal and 17 lb mutton. From the baker's accounts in this series, the Findlaters ate about 20 quartern loaves weekly.

Even allowing for these missing items, the supplies are on a much smaller scale. For example, the vegetables: in the Gordon accounts there are at least 44 varieties compared with the Findlater 17. Similarly, the pastrycook's productions number 16 compared with six, and the total for milk is about a third of the Gordon total.

Most of the provisions came from the grocer, and the Findlaters must have lived mainly on barley, butter, rabbits and eggs, much as they did at Cullen. More exotic items are lobster, morels, pike and

asparagus, but none of these appear often. Lord Findlater liked cheesecakes, and these were bought for him specially by the butler. Seedcake was also bought frequently, up to 14 times in one month.

Another contrast is afforded by the accounts due by James, earl of Dalkeith, eldest son of James and Anna, duke and duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, who died in his mother's lifetime in 1705.[83] His debts at his death were calculated to be £2460, and of this sum, groceries and other household provisions accounted for £332. Table 71 gives the totals of the accounts of what the Dalkeith family ate and drank during the first three months of 1705. As with the Gordons, the butcher's bills are the most expensive, followed by the baker, oilman/grocer and brewer. The meat eaten is very like that supplied forty years later to the Gordons: pork is almost absent while every portion of the sheep is consumed. Veal is eaten more by the Dalkeiths. Both families consume enormous amounts of beef and mutton, especially the Dalkeiths, where the monthly consumption of beef is around 80 stones and mutton at 24. The Gordon meat is usually reckoned in pounds and the bills do not usually specify beef or mutton; taking both together, the Gordon monthly average is around 50-60 stones, that is about half the Dalkeith average. Presumably a larger household accounted for this, but there are no bills showing how many people these amounts fed. Fish is less varied: 14 kinds compared with the Gordon 27. Similarly with the grocer, the Dalkeith bills contain 26 items compared with 49 (Findlater) and 59 (Gordon), and much the same for greengrocery at 30 (Findlater 21, Gordon 44), and poultry at 16 (Findlater 12, Gordon 20). The most striking change is in the confectioner's accounts: in 1704 the

staples were dried fruits - apricots, cherries, five kinds of plums and quinces - while by 1751 the emphasis is on made up dishes such as jellies and cakes from the confectioner and baked items from the pastry-cook. Presumably the Dalkeith cook did his own baking, for there are no accounts for this. There are no coal bills, and only a very small one for wood, so wood was either supplied free from the estate or the bills were paid by someone else.

As a final comparison, there is an interesting but rather later note of the Duke of Montrose's London accounts during 1782-3. The Montrose butler was asked by Lord Hopetoun for an account of their household expenses, and supplied this in a letter.[84] The butler calculated that during the previous three months the average number of people fed was 25, with the duke and duchess always at home, and sometimes company to dinner but never anyone to supper. Table 72 shows the list of what was consumed daily or weekly.

From this, the expense of feeding the Montrose household was considerably greater than the Gordon, though the latter was larger. The Gordon butcher's bills are about a third of the Montrose, though the poultry is about the same, the milk rather less and the fish about a third. However, the Montrose bills are between 30 and 40 years later, and prices have risen.

The letter makes the point that fish and poultry were supplied entirely for the ducal table, and that a country estate was useful for sending in cream, fruit and vegetables. Similarly, Newcastle's Sussex and Nottinghamshire estates provide game, fowl and fish.

No household books survive for the Gordon family in London, but

what they ate and drank can be deduced from the accounts of the various suppliers quoted earlier in this chapter.

Table 73 shows what was eaten for the whole of December 1751, day by day. From this table, some suppliers sent in food every day, such as the baker, butcher, poulterer, grocer and milkman, including Sundays. Others, such as the confectioner, brewer and oilman only sent once a week or fortnight as required. The quantities ordered varied from day to day: the milk supplied might be three quarts or up to seven daily, while the fresh eggs varied between one and six, and common eggs were bought in dozens. Most of the food came from the various suppliers and the butler purchased the rest, which he showed separately in his own accounts. There does not seem to be any system in this, for he sometimes buys things usually supplied by the poulterer, grocer or fishmonger indiscriminately.

From these accounts, the Gordons do not seem to have lived at an extravagant rate. The menu for 1 December was made up of meat, rabbits, chickens, six blackbirds, oysters, horseradish and cresses, with ham and six tarts bought from the pastrycook, and one fresh egg. Similarly on 22 December, the items used were meat and two chickens, turnips and horseradish, rolls and cheesecakes along with one fresh egg. However, when visitors were expected or on special occasions, a ready made pudding, cakes or sweetmeats were purchased from the confectioner, and a wider variety of provisions was bought. On 13 December, the menu included a dish of sweetmeats and the rest of the meal included patties, olives and tarts all baked by the pastrycook, a selection of poultry including wild duck, teal, larks and a pheasant, 38 lb of

unspecified meat and a forequarter of lamb, accompanied by spinach, asparagus, celery, sorrel and cauliflowers, lobsters, cockles and oysters, while the butler chose the salmon for himself. This was obviously a special occasion, and contrasts with the menu for the following day, when in addition to the remains of the previous party, the family subsisted on 33 lb meat, tripe, a cabbage, some escarolle and four dabs.

Christmas was not an occasion celebrated with elaborate food. The pastrycook, baker, butcher, greengrocer, eggmonger, milkman and grocer all sent supplies on the day, from which it appears that the family ate mincepies, tarts, 23½ lb meat, horseradish and turnips, the usual solitary fresh egg, coffee and vermicelli.

Similarly the duke's birthday was not an occasion for anything special at home. Table 74 shows what was eaten on this date, 21 April, during 1749-52. The menus are uniformly simple: a fowl, some skate and salmon, 8 lb beef and sixpenceworth of oranges in 1749; 59 lb of meat and a bullock to salt in 1750, thus presumably indicating that the family ate out that day; a chicken, pie, 47 lb meat and horseradish in 1751; and a crab, two chickens, meat, fresh and salt, a forequarter of lamb, a tart from the pastrycook, soup and vegetables in 1752.

Finally, the same table gives some of the most expensive meals, 1748-52. That on 12 January 1747/8 includes a whole bushel of oysters, two carp, more than four stones of beef, asparagus, tart and tongues from the pastrycook, and a blancmange and lemon drops from the confectioner. The menu for 31 May 1749 is equally extravagant, including a turbot and lobster, a fowl, two chickens, two turkey poults and two ducklings, 21½ lb meat, steaks and hindquarter of lamb, Spanish olives

and morels, along with a dish of jellies and syllabubs garnished with biscuits. The following two menus are the most expensive of all. That of 13 October 1750 cost in all £5 15s ½d, and included 7 stones of meat, sole, smelt, crawfish, chickens, a pheasant, two necks of lamb and two veal sweetbreads, lambs' stones[85] and five vegetables, with morels, jellies, a blancmange and nuts. The other menu, for 11 March 1752, included salmon, smelts, oysters and shrimps, pigeons, chickens, ducklings, 9 stone of meat, as well as other pieces of offal including calves' noses[86] and a leg of mutton, mushrooms, asparagus, sorrel and lettuce, almonds and lemons, three frames for dessert[87] as well as wet sweetmeats and patties and pies ready baked. The total cost was £7 11s 8½d.

As a comparison, table 75 shows the London menus of the Findlaters in January 1735.[88] The ingredients are very similar, though rather more Scottish, at least there is cowheel and haggis on the menu, as well as venison. The nursery and servants' meals are included, from which it seems that the nursery got the duller parts of what the Findlaters were eating - fowls in plain broth, roast mutton and potatoes - and the servants subsisted on the less attractive pieces of meat - flank of cow, neck and flank of beef or hindquarter of mutton, and offal such as haggis.

Cosmo George's father while in London lived on a more modest scale than his son, but then he only visited England for a few weeks at a time and took lodgings, so that few menus are extant. Table 76 shows some of his menus of 1716.[89] The food is plain and monotonous - mainly mutton and barley or beef with poultry. Supper usually consists of a pullet, or a pair of chickens, or beef collops, while the servants are almost invariably regaled with beef or eggs or barley. Alexander, as a Catholic, ate

oysters and a pair of pullets and a pudding on Friday, with chickens and eggs for supper, while the second and third tables are served with barley and eggs. Some years later, in 1724, when in London, Alexander is eating skate, whiting, cod, fowls, pea soup, cheese, rolls and milk. Once the ingredients for an egg pie are given: eight eggs, flour, 4 oz raisins, 4 oz currants, 4 oz sugar, nutmeg, mace and cinnamon, fresh butter and a gill of sack, with twopence to the pastrycook for baking the result.[90]

When the Duke of Buccleuch lived at Blackheath in the summer of 1741, a household book was kept, giving the menus and provisions bought.[91] On 6 July, the duke and duchess, Lord Brudenal (aged five or six),[92] the Duke of Richmond, and three other visitors are present, with 10 upper servants at the second table, and seven inferior ones at the third. The menu is given in table 77. This sounds different from other menus, and the breakfast in particular is not at all Scottish, though the dinner has Scotch collops[93] and venison on the table. As elsewhere, the servants eat what was left over supplemented by extra meat, on this occasion roast mutton.

At Blackheath, provisions are entered by the week: table 78 shows what was consumed in the week ending 12 July, from which it appears that more veal was eaten than beef or mutton, and the same quantity of venison. Only three dozen eggs are used in the whole week. Vegetables specified are onions, peas, French beans and cucumbers. A pound of beef, 5 lb mutton and 12 lb veal are specifically given to the cook for making soups and gravy. The duchess and Lord Brudenal drink 15 quarts of milk during the week. Several things appear on the menu which are

not in the lists of provisions: lobster and soles from Gravesend, artichokes and salmon among them. Most of the articles have a price. Probably the others came from the estate or as presents from friends.

Lord Brudenal is either ill or fussy about his food, for he always has something specially cooked for him - mackerel, roast mutton, warmed cold chicken, flounders or roast rabbit. The breakfast is always the same - chocolate, veal broth and bread and butter for the first table, and cold meat and bread and butter for the servants. This is the English fashion, not yet followed in Scotland much. Dinner, as elsewhere, is the main meal of the day, and supper is always very light: on 7 August, all the duke and duchess and Lord Brudenal ate is apparently one broiled pigeon. The servants always have cold meat and bread and cheese for supper as well as breakfast. One menu for dinner, 9 August, was composed of pease soup, venison pie, boiled sole, roast beef, suet pudding, roast fowl, French beans, currant tart and fruit, with bread, and a bottle each of claret, cider and madeira. Supper on the same day consisted of one boiled sole, presumably indicating that the duke and duchess were out. The weekly totals of expenditure are also given, and vary between £14 and £24.

These totals sound very small compared with the amount the Gordons ate. The weekly total for meat is much smaller, there is much less variety in poultry and fish, and again far smaller quantities, and only a quarter of the bread. The vegetables are scarce, and there is hardly any fruit. However, there is not much difference in the cost, for the Buccleuch weekly total includes provisions for the London house kept up in the family's absence, at least cleaning materials, fuel and oddments are

bought, and wine, whereas the Enfield house and wine are not included in the Gordon accounts.

As well as accounts for food eaten at home, there are many for meals out, either with friends or in taverns. There was a variety of such places in London, the food ranging from the very expensive, such as the Pontack's Head in Christ Church Passage, where a 'guinea ordinary' could be had, to the cheap eatinghouses patronised by more impecunious Scots.[94]

Among the taverns patronised by Cosmo George were the Key and Garter, the Star and Garter, the King's Arms and the Bear's Head. The bills do not give the number of people fed, but on some occasions the duke must have been paying the bill for a large number: on 2 December 1737, Josh. Thorpe supplied an elaborate meal of boiled cod, fried soles with shrimp sauce, boiled mutton and vegetables, chump of beef, salad, roast partridges with bread sauce, apple pie, tarts, jellies, sweetmeats, syllabubs and fruit. Usually the meals are simpler: breast of lamb, panada and fruit; chicken with oyster sauce and vegetables, or soup,chickens and asparagus; a fowl, mutton cutlets and brawn; shoulder of lamb, peas and a tart. On one occasion a dinner from Michael Ryan at the King's Arms cost 10 guineas for food and nearly £12 for wine, with coffee, nuts and dessert extra, but unfortunately the details are not given. The most elaborate meals came from S. Austin at the Bear's Head: a typical menu, that of 14 April 1747, was soup and boullie,[95] two chickens roasted with parsley and butter, roast ribs of lamb, salmagundi, prawns, salad, bread and ale, cheese, three bottles of both port and claret and two of madeira. All these menus, though including a lot of food, sound

reasonably simple: there are none of the tarts of frogs and forced meat or pig stuffed with hard roe and ambergris for which the Pontack's Head was famous.

The following table (79) gives the details of menus eaten by Cosmo George in London, 1737-49.[96] Most of them date from his early years in London; after his marriage he does not seem to have frequented taverns to the same extent.

Lord Aboyne also ate at the Bear's Head during his stay in London in 1754. The food sounds fairly plain - soup, roast pigeons, asparagus and a bottle of port; or, soup, crimp cod and a pair of soles with shrimp sauce, Scotch collops, radishes, and a bottle of port; or, soup and boullie, a roasted shoulder of lamb, salad and cucumbers and the usual bottle of port. Lord Aboyne also ate at a tavern run by Evan MacKenzie, and the menus are very similar: soup, steaks, pigeons, or soup, lamb, salad, a tart, or a pigeon, fish with lobster sauce, pigeon pie and salad.[97]

There is less information on what was drunk with the meals. As there are no household books, there is no information on what Cosmo George drank daily, but his accounts of wine from the various suppliers survive, and table 80 shows what he bought in London, 1747-52.[98] From this table, the main wines are the usual claret and port. Claret is either unspecified, old or Chateau Margaux, the last being bought by the hogshead costing £40 or £45, and the rest in bottles at 36s to 48s the dozen. In an earlier account, Chateau Lafite is once mentioned. Port is bought by pipe, hogshead or bottle: the accounts do not always specify red or white, but when unspecified, red is probably meant. It cost £36 the pipe, and £19 the hogshead, and in bottles around 18s the dozen.

Apart from these daily standbys, lisbon, madeira and rum were the most often drunk. The first two were bought in bottles, usually a dozen or more at once, and rum, sometimes specified as Jamaica, usually by the gallon. Occasionally other wines or spirits were drunk - Cyprus wine, holaque, described by the seller as a rich Spanish wine,[99] as well as French wines, unspecified white, burgundy, Frontignan[100] and Pontac,[101] and German hock, moselle and rhenish. Earlier accounts mention one or two others, Galicia[102] and Constantia Cape[103] among them.

Table 81 gives the totals of the various bills, 1747-52, amounting to nearly £900.[104] Quite a few of the suppliers are only patronised once, though the duke's main custom was bestowed on Andrew Douglas, Archibald Stewart and James Cowan, presumably all Scots. The first two were really wine merchants, but Cowan seems to have been employed in transporting goods by sea, and also sells the duke oysters, caraway seeds and snuff. Sometimes the drinks came ready bottled, but bottles were also bought separately from John Mathews, who supplied moulded bottles at 2s 6d the dozen and corks at 2s the gross. He also sold pint bottles at 2s 2d the dozen.[105] The wine merchants also supplied bottles on occasion when the wine came still in its hogshead or by the gallon. When the duke bought two gallons of brandy in 1742, the spirits cost £1 and bottles and a hamper were another 3s 4d. Corks were also bought from Susannah Bland, cork cutter: quart corks cost 9d or 1s 8d the gross and pints at 6d and 1s 4d.[106]

When the wine was unknown or different, the merchants supplied a single bottle for a 'taste'. Andrew Douglas sent a selection of single bottles in 1747, one each of red and white port, mountain, sherry from

the West Indies at least ten years old, madeira, canary and haloque. They were a success, for the duke ordered three dozen port, one dozen mountain, three dozen sherry and one dozen of both madeira and haloque.

Walter and James Robertson carried on business in Lyme Regis; when Cosmo George was there in 1748 or 1749, he liked their wine, and ordered a hogshead of port and six dozen white wine, the port at 16 guineas (cheaper than in London), and the white wine at £1 the dozen. Carriage and bottles were extra.

A cellar book of Alexander, fourth duke of Gordon, while in London 1767-72, survives, and from this, little wine was drunk.[107] Possibly the family was absent for most of the time, for the amounts are very small. The same table (81) shows the totals for five months in 1767-8. Compared with Cosmo George's tastes, the shift from port to madeira is shown, though claret is still the most popular drink, followed by port and madeira. Champagne only appears in small quantities.

Lady Findlater kept a note of what they drank in London, and the next table (82) gives the details for a few years between 1739 and 1761.[108] There is an odd variation in the drinks. In 1739, the two main items are claret from Leith and mountain, about one bottle a day of the latter and rather less of claret, along with smaller amounts of burgundy and port. The pattern is much the same of the following visit of 1739-40, but on the next one, 1741-2, port now heads the list, with over a bottle a day, while claret has dropped to half of this, and mountain has disappeared. Next year, about equal quantities of claret, madeira and port are drunk, and twenty years later the main tipples are lisbon and port. Like the others, champagne is rarely drunk and sherry hardly appears at all.

A cellar book of John, lord Glenorchy, gives a few details of his London visits, and from this, he or his family appear to have had a daily bottle of port, calcavella[109] and madeira, while another bottle of port and one of calcavella were given out for the cook, parlour, postilion or steward's room. Other drinks mentioned, though not as frequently, are rum, currant shrub and rhenish.[110]

Alexander, second earl of Marchmont, returned from Cambrai in 1725, and brought the contents of his cellar with him. It consisted of 40 bottles 'Cotteroty',[111] 53 champagne, 28 claret, 50 ratafia, 26 usquebaugh, 9 Barbadoes or cinnamon water, and 14 tokay. From this list, his palate seems to have been developed by residence abroad, for the preponderance of champagne is unusual, and tokay does not appear elsewhere. While at London, Marchmont added to this store, buying a piece (that is, a cask holding two hogsheads) of pontack, Pope Clement 1732, along with one piece of burgundy, vin de nuit 1724, as well as half a piece of Cotteroty, and noted sadly in his account that 115 bottles of arrack had been stopped at the customs.

Francis, duke of Buccleuch, drank very little while at Blackheath in 1741. Details of two menus with the wines have been given in table 77, and the supply seems rather meagre - only seven bottles for a dinner for the duke and duchess, the Duke of Richmond and three other guests, while the second table did better with seven bottles of beer, one of champagne and one of galloway wine. This is what was drunk during the week ending 12 July: two barrels small beer, 38 bottles strong beer, six bottles claret, two bottles furniers, one and a half bottles wine, one rhenish, seven cider and four Piermont Water. At the same period, the

Buccleuch cellar contained a miscellany of wines including malmsey madeira, king's burgundy, usquebaugh, Cape of Good Hope, cowslip, ratafia, Turkey wine, tokay, citron water, geneva, rum, arrack and Bristol water. This is an unusually comprehensive selection, though the Buccleuchs drank it in small quantities. It is odd that the only bottle of champagne drunk in the week ending 12 July should have been given to a servant. The barrels of small beer were drunk by the inferior servants, while the upper ones were given the strong beer in bottles and some of the wine.

CHAPTER 8

THE LONDON HOUSE; THE COUNTRY HOUSE

The first thing to be done on arrival in London was to look round for lodgings. None of the peers discussed elsewhere actually owned a house in London. In most cases the Scottish aristocracy spent only a few weeks in the year in London, and concentrated on buying things to take home rather than pay large sums for rent. As William Cleland wrote to Alexander, earl of Marchmont, when the latter was considering taking a very expensive house in 1731, 'every bodie must know that it is not your own, only hyr'd lodgings in which all that is desyr'd is conveniencie'.[1] The only exceptions who might stay for longer periods in London were some of the representative peers in parliament, and even they only hired a house or rooms for the season: the rates dropped dramatically when parliament rose, and economical persons such as Lady Findlater noted in their accounts that the rent had gone down by nearly half when this occurred.

The amount of rent paid naturally varied according to the size and fashionable situation of the house, as well as the furniture in it. The rent paid by the Gordons and Findlaters varied, usually between 2 and 6 guineas when the lodgings were taken by the week. The first table in this chapter (83) shows the rent paid by both families and the length of their stay. The variations in the Findlater rents during 1734-5 and 1741-2 are due to the lower rent when parliament rises. From 1749, Cosmo George subrented a house for the whole year, leaving a caretaker when he was in the country or at home in Scotland. The variations in rent are probably

caused by his marriage and expanding family, and more expensive tastes, for in 1760 the Findlaters are still paying only 6 guineas a week for a furnished house on the east side of Leicester Square, while a whole house and stables in Berkeley Square could have been had for 3 guineas, or an unfurnished house in Queen Street for only £35 a year. Coming further down the scale, lodgings at a grocer's in Charles Street were offered for 2 guineas a week.[2]

Lord Aboyne lodged very simply on his London visits of 1753-5. In 1755, he lodged with an apothecary for six months costing only £35, and in 1753, he paid 2 guineas a week, and in 1754, another 25 weeks at only a guinea a week, with an extra 1s 6d for a broken china plate.

Cosmo George's accounts for London lodgings are extant from 1738 till his death. Before he became a representative peer, his visits were quite short, never more than six months, and the lodgings varied: in 1738-9 his landlord was an apothecary in Pall Mall, in 1743 a hatter, in 1744-5 an upholsterer, and in 1746 a wigmaker. None of these men specify where the lodgings were, except one of the upholsterers, William Jones, whose house was in Conduit Street.

After Cosmo George entered parliament, he took another house in Conduit Street. It was let furnished, and the Gordon family was always very careless with its own and other people's belongings. The landlord was so annoyed at the condition of the place when the family moved out, that he sued Cosmo George for the articles broken, lost or damaged. The rent of the house, 33 weeks at 6 guineas a week, came to £207 18s, and the landlord claimed another £12 for damages. His list of breakages is given in table 84. His account ended with the enraged comment, 'the

house left in a condition not fit to be seen, it will cost five pounds cleaning'.[3] From this account it sounds as if the servants were careless and unsupervised, for most of the breakages occur in the kitchen premises. Having paid £115 of the total, the duke contested the rest. The landlord sued him and won; he was awarded another £115, while the duke had also to pay the costs and his lawyer.

After this Cosmo George moved to another house, on the south side of Upper Grosvenor Street, rented by the Earl of Holderness.[4] Cosmo George remained there for the rest of his life, subrenting it for six months at a time, at £210 per annum.

Here again he was in trouble, this time with a tradesman. As the house was taken unfurnished, Cosmo George employed two London tradesmen, John Gordon, cabinetmaker and upholsterer, and Alexander Dingwall, cabinetmaker, to furnish the house during his absence in Scotland in the summer of 1749. He said afterwards that he reserved the right to choose what he wanted on his return. However, as it happened, the two tradesmen disagreed, and Gordon won the argument, even refusing to allow the pieces of furniture specifically commissioned from Dingwall to stay in the house, but insisted that they should be deposited in a lumber room over the coach house. Gordon then, according to the duke's story, proceeded to furnish the house completely, cramming it with superfluous furniture. When Cosmo George returned to town in the following April, he was, as he said, surprised, and announced that he had all along intended to choose his own furniture. As his defence stated, 'it is naturall to think that he would gratify his own and the dutchess's taste in chooseing the furniture, besides his coming to London at a time when the

parliament was just about riseing and most people going into the country, puts it out of all doubt that the directions given to both Gordon and Dingwall included nothing furder than what was actually bespoke from them, and that His Grace's intention was to point out during the vacation what furder would be agreeable to him, but in this His Grace was frustrate in his expectations'.[5]

Matters became more involved when John Gordon presented his bill and refused to show the other tradesmen's bills as vouchers, under the pretext that it was not the custom in London. The duke paid £700 of the account when John Gordon complained that he was being dunned, 'out of meer sympathy and generosity that the cause of his ruin might not be imputed to any backwardness in His Grace'. At this point the duke decided to call in two other tradesmen as a second opinion: on apprising John Gordon's furniture they decided that he had overcharged by £170. On this, the duke cried that he was being cheated, and offered to pay the balance, deducting the £170. John Gordon refused this and the squabble continued. It was only settled after the duke's death when Katherine was induced to pay what John Gordon demanded. She wanted to give up the house and sell the furniture, and was in a poor position for argument.

The inventory made by the two outside tradesmen in 1750 survives, and gives, in most cases, both John Gordon's price and their estimate.[6] There is not all that much difference in the prices of the individual items, but when the contents of the house are added up the total amounts to £170. Gordon made the total bill £1226 16s 9d, and the appraisers subtracted something from nearly all the pieces of furniture supplied. Some of the widest differences in price appear in the contents of the drawingroom:

two Italian marble tables on carved frames, part gilt, with covers, priced at £14 8s by Gordon, were valued at £11 15s, and similarly, two pier glasses with branches £18 15s and £12 19s 6d), three festoon window curtains (£19 10s and £15 16s 3d), a Wilton floor carpet (£17 12s and £15 10s), and four gold and white girandoles with branches (£12 12s and £10 16s) show a marked difference in price. It was the same in the best bedchamber, where the bed was valued at £79 17s by John Gordon and at £45 1s 1½d by the appraisers.

Some of the furniture mentioned was returned to John Gordon by the duke, amounting to £75 17s 6d.[7]

Table 85 shows the contents of the various houses in London rented by the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Marchmont and the Laird of Grant. There are so many details about the houses Marchmont considered because he asked Cleland to look at all the possibles and report on them, and Cleland did his work with enthusiasm.[8] The table lists four of these houses, in Grosvenor Street, Germain Street, Arlington Street and an unspecified one, possibly on the corner of Duke Street. Cleland does not give all the details: it is not clear whether the houses all had basements or not, but they may not, as sometimes the kitchen is either mentioned as being on the ground floor, or built out at the back into the garden.

From this table, all the houses sound very similar. There are cellars and sometimes a kitchen in the basement along with the usual offices: the main hall, two parlours, servants' hall and steward's room on the ground floor, best bedchamber, drawingroom and diningroom on the first, and other bedchambers on the second, and garrets for servants on top, with stables and the coachman's room over it at the bottom of the

garden. The number of rooms per house varies, but there are usually three or four rooms to a floor on the ground and first floor, and four or five above.

The inventories of 1750 and 1753 for the Gordon house in Grosvenor Street list the contents in detail.[9] The kitchen may be either in the basement or built out in an annexe, for the inventory is not clear. From the mention of a passage backwards, it sounds as if the laundry, cook's room, footmen's room, kitchen and washinghouse were in an annexe rather than in the basement along with the cellars. The rest of the ground floor consists of a back and fore parlour, a dressingroom and closet, along with accommodation for the upper servants - butler's pantry, steward's room and housekeeper's room. The family lived mainly on the first floor where the drawingroom and best bedchamber were. There was no real diningroom, so they ate in one of the parlours. The nursery and three other bedrooms were on the second floor, and the servants' garrets and lumber room on the third or attic storey. The coachman slept over the stables.

The inventory does not mention lavatories, but from the plumber's bills there were two, called euphemistically powdering rooms, or little, necessary or bog houses. One was in the kitchen passage and the other in the yard. The latter had a row of cloak pins, and iron bars over the window; they were both whitewashed. In addition, all the bedchambers contained close stools of mahogany, walnut or wainscot. The contents were removed by nightcarts. Lord Breadalbane employed a firm run by Martha Harrison to do this: her trade card of 1773 points out that her son attended at night to this horrible chore in person.

There is little information on the garden of the Gordon house. It

was attended to by Henry and Samuel Hewitt, and from one of their accounts, it contained trees grown against the walls, and flowerbeds edged with box, separating the gravel walks. All the surviving accounts for seeds and plants are for Gordon Castle, and were sent off by sea.

The next two tables deal with the furniture, table 86 showing what was bought from John Gordon in 1750 and table 87 what was in the house at the duke's death, compared with the contents of Sir James Grant's house in Westminster in 1763.

Most of what John Gordon had supplied was still in place three years later, though some pieces are missing or supplemented from elsewhere. The 16 bedsteads are still extant: 11 four posted, one of them for the best bedchamber described as a 'gothick tester',[10] a chairbed, couch, turn up, a desk or press, and one unspecified bed kept under the stairs. The bed furniture is still the same: seven blue, one green, two red and one blue and yellow. There are 99 chairs in both lists; there seem to be fewer armchairs in the 1750 list, but this may be due to an inadequate catalogue. The number of tables has risen from 29 to 40.

From this second table, the Grant of Grant establishment is on a smaller scale. Six beds compared with 16, 66 chairs to 99, 15 tables to 40, curtains in six rooms compared with 10. Heating still comes from grates, not the newer steel stoves, though the Grants have an extra carpet and four more oilcloths.

Taking the Gordon furniture room by room, the garrets were adequately furnished for servants. The maidservants' room held two four posted beds with blue curtains, each with featherbed, bolster, two pillows, blanket and coverlet. There was also a leather chairbed, presumably for a fifth

maid, two wainscot tables with a drawer, 10 chairs, four of them with matted seats and the other six plain wooden hall chairs, and a stove. This is very similar to the counterpart room in Bedford House, which contained a four post bedstead with green harratine furniture, a wainscot chest bedstead, three old chairs, a deal chamber table, a dressing glass and fender.[11] The menservants' room was similarly furnished with one four posted bed with green furniture, two chairs, a wainscot table and stove.

On the second floor, the rooms were more elaborately furnished, for family or visitors. There were three rooms with four posted beds (furnished with chintz, red damask and red worsted), and the nursery which held two four posted beds with blue harratine furniture as well as a wainscot dining table, six cherrytree chairs, two wainscot chests of drawers, two square cupboards, shelves and a stove grate with an iron fireguard to keep the children away from the fire, and iron bars over the windows. The baby slept in a cradle made by Alexander Dingwall, but this does not appear in the inventory; possibly Katherine had taken it with her when she and the children left London in 1753. Robert Gordon, the secretary, slept in the red worsted bedchamber on this floor.

The first floor contained the drawingroom, best bedchamber, closet and dressingroom. The drawingroom was elaborately furnished and hung with paper hangings. There were two Italian marble tables on carved and gilt frames, with pier glasses over them, in gold and white, between the three windows, eight chairs covered in red and white needlework with four matching stools, two walnut settees with claw feet and carved knees, a Wilton carpet, four gold and white sconces and a large steel grate.

The dressingroom may have been larger than it sounds for it held a large gold and white pier glass, six walnut chairs with claw feet and carved knees, covered in red and yellow belsamine,[12] two armed settee chairs covered in the same fabric, a square mahogany dressing table, a Wilton carpet, and another steel grate. Both rooms had red and yellow belsamine curtains, and the dressingroom was also hung with matching coloured paper. The inventory does not specify the colour of the paper in the drawingroom.

The best bedchamber varied the prevailing colours a little with blue and yellow belsamine, and matching paper hangings. The best bed was an elaborate 'gothick' tester, lined with blue silk, of mahogany, the tester domed, with blue and yellow counterpane and curtain, a pier glass, mahogany table, bureau and night table, a Wilton carpet, steel grate, blue and yellow fire screen, and four mahogany armchairs also upholstered in the same belsamine.

The staircase and hall contained some unexpected items, including a cardtable and a bed under the stair, as well as the conventional set of hall chairs and a variety of lanterns, among them four special ones, glass globes supported on gold and white dolphins.

On the ground floor there were the two main parlours, two smaller ones, the servants' hall and steward's room. The family ate in the fore parlour, which was furnished with a set of mahogany diningtables and 12 mahogany chairs, as well as two quadrille tables, an Italian marble table on a carved frame, with the usual white and gold pier glass over it, a Turkey carpet, a corner cupboard and steel grate. The back parlour was hung with red embossed paper and furnished with a mahogany card table,

eight chairs and a couch. Six of the chairs were carved with ribbon backs and the other two were described as compass easy chairs, all covered in red morocco, as was the couch. The two small parlours both had stoves; one contained a large mahogany bookcase with four glass doors and a clothes press underneath. The servants' hall was sparsely furnished with the usual long deal table, two forms, a grate, two wicker chairs and a wigstand. The steward's room was meant for business only and was furnished with six cherrytree chairs, a wainscot table, some hat hooks and a stove grate. The housekeeper apparently did not sleep in her room, for there is no bed, but the butler slept in his pantry in a turn up bedstead behind a partition.

The basement and annexe held the footmen's room and the cook's; each room contained a four posted bed with blue furniture, two wicker chairs and a table, but only the cook's had a stove grate.

From all these inventories - Gordon, Grant and Bedford, there was a recognised ration of bed coverings; the usual amount was a featherbed, bolster, two pillows, three blankets and a quilt or coverlet. There were variations: the Gordon best bed was furnished with a check mattress, and a down bed instead of the ordinary featherbed, while Mrs Grant also had a check mattress as well as the featherbed, though her spare room was less well equipped with only one pillow instead of the customary two, like the Bedford clerk of the kitchen. The Gordon maids did better with four blankets, though the coachman only got two, and the Grant maids had to be content with a rug instead of a quilt.

There were not many pictures in the Gordon house. The drawingroom held portraits of Alexander, second duke of Gordon, Lord Saltoun and the

Earl of Peterborough, while there was a view of Westminster bridge in one of the little parlours. The other parlour held the other pictures - Alexander again, Lady Craufurd and her sister, Captain William Gordon, Sir William Gordon, Major Grant and Captain Brodie, along with two prints of the Gunning sisters. The Grants were rather better equipped: they had what Jane Grant described as 'five fine large Roman pictures in gold gilt frames' and a print of Captain Lockhart in the diningroom, a large conversation picture, four landscapes and a miniature of Miss Grant in Mrs Grant's dressingroom, and seven old prints in her bedchamber.

Cosmo George was an inveterate collector of oddments, and the 1753 catalogue lists these as 'curiosities and firearms'. They are given in table 88. It is an odd mixture, mostly silver, snuffboxes and guns. Most of the items had been bought by Cosmo George himself in London.

The guns are from various gunsmiths - Edward Newton in Grantham, and James Barbar, Benjamin Griffin, William Brander and Henry Godde in London. The other maker, Columbell, was presumably foreign: the account for his guns does not seem to survive, though there is one for mending them. All the values in the catalogue are very low when compared with what they originally cost. Griffin charged £5 15s 6d in 1749 for one of the three fowling pieces valued together at £7 10s. He described it as a neat brass fowling piece, with water pan and hollowed lock, and charged another 1s 6d for engraving the duke's crest and coronet. The pair of pistols by Newton valued at a guinea in 1753 had cost 10 guineas in 1745, and a pair by Barbar valued at £1 15s had been bought the same year at 6 guineas.

There are a few pieces of silver included in this list, though most

of it is catalogued separately. The case containing a knife, fork and spoon bought from Archambo in 1748 for £1 16s 6d is valued here at 15s, and the nutmeg grater, also from him, and a case containing four silver bottles, bought from Barker, also appear. The badge and collar of the Thistle are in this list: the badge had cost £106 and is valued at £70, while the collar was supplied by the Crown, and had to be returned on the duke's death.

The rest of the list is made up of various small items from toymen like Christopher Pinchbeck, Paul Daniel Chenevix and Elizabeth Chenevix, William Deard or Deards and John Dingwall, who was really a jeweller. Deard supplied the model of Pitt's diamond in 1748 at 2 guineas,[13] and various other trifles such as gold or inlaid boxes, ivory fish and counters for games, a silver fountain pen, and an ivory and ebony backgammon table, with diceboxes and chessmen, at 6 guineas. Pinchbeck sold the duke several cornelian seals, buckles, buttons, toothpicks and bottle tickets. Chenevix also sold the duke a pair of gold sleeve buttons. Dingwall mainly supplied jewellery which is discussed elsewhere, and the onyx seal set in gold in 1748 and a tortoiseshell snuffbox in the same year.

One of the watches was from Conyers Dunlop; the account itself is missing, though Dunlop cleaned it in 1751. Another came from Richard Gregg in 1742 at a cost of £75 12s, though only valued here at £20. The third was sold by Pinchbeck, though made by Carus: it cost 13 guineas in 1752, and is valued here at 30s.

The silver telescope came from Edward Scarlett, whose trade-card describes him at length, as an 'optician to the King, at the Archimedes and Globe, near St Anne's church, Soho. The telescope was bought in 1737

and repaired in 1751. He also sold Cosmo George two pairs of spectacles in 1748 at 13s for the two.

The duke bought a lot of his books in London, mainly from three booksellers - John Brindley, Andrew Miller and Robert Dodsley. Most of what he purchased was despatched to Gordon Castle, but there were about a hundred books in the London house, presumably representing the duke's own choice, for they are much more entertaining or helpful than an 18th century library usually appears. The books are listed in table 88.

There is very little of the theoretical or theological in this collection: they are mostly either useful or entertaining. The various events in the duke's life can be traced by the useful: there are books on law (Every Man his own Lawyer) dating from the time the duke was being sued by his landlord, midwifery (his first child was born in 1742), architecture (he was planning to rebuild the village of Fochabers), whist (he had played since he was a boy), diseases of the horse (like any other nobleman, he bought expensive horses), poisons and plague (perhaps for foreign travel), works for the flute (he played the German flute himself), and the Acts of George II (as a representative peer he would need these). The entertaining side is mostly novels, some which were classics - Clarissa, Roderick Random, Amelia and Gil Blas - as well as more ephemeral works. There is very little ancient history, classics or philosophy: Hume's Enquiry into the Principles of Morals, Horace and Pindar are about all, apart from a Roman history, but as this is cast in the form of question and answer, it sounds fairly basic, and was probably for the use of the boys at Harrow. There is very little verse and no

theology. Apart from works arranged for the flute, there is a selection of other music, including Scottish country dances, two of Handel's oratorios and some songs set for the harpsichord.

The silver is listed in the same table (88). It nearly all came from either Peter Archambo, and his son of the same name, Huguenot craftsmen, who produced domestic plate of fine workmanship though not of the first quality, or John Barker, mostly from the former. The dates of purchase and the prices paid are also given. Most of the silver was bought when the duke married, and dates from 1742. In that year he started with a bread basket, castors, coffeepot, milk ewer, sugardish, tea kettle, teapot and two waiters. Three years later he added candlesticks, cream boat, cruet frames, cutlery, salts and tumblers. After this he bought smaller additional items or jewellery. A few minor pieces were also bought from various toymen or jewellers, Chenevix, Deard and Dingwall. These are detailed in the same table (88).

The kitchen was well furnished, at least by Gordon Castle standards. Everything was new and there were a good many refinements lacking at home. The contents are given in table 88.

There was a large iron range with cheeks, keeper and iron back, a crane, pothooks, spit racks, trivets and a jack with a multiplying wheel and two spits, as well as two boiling coppers and four stoves for cooking. The supply of pots and pans was also lavish in comparison, especially the pans: one braising, two frying, one gravy, two paste, seven sauce and 12 stew. Most of these were copper, though the frying pans were iron. There was also a copper fish kettle.

Apart from the china which is listed separately, the plates were of

pewter, including 16 soup plates and 47 table plates. From these odd numbers, the kitchenmaid or cook had probably lost or damaged some of them. There were several moulds - a lobster, cock's comb and turk's cap, all of copper.

There is no mention of an oven for baking, but as the tarts and puddings to be baked were sent out to the confectioner, such an article would not be needed.

The rest of the kitchen premises was furnished in the usual way. The laundry contained an iron range, hanging iron, eight smoothing irons, two deal tables, two stools and a clothes horse. The wash house held a washing copper, four washing tubs, a rinsing tub, a drying horse, and oddly, a fixed dinner bell.

As a comparison, the next table (89) shows the kitchen furniture bought when Walter and Lady Diana Scott rented a London house in 1769-70.[14] It contains brushes and brooms in addition to the other kitchen furnishings, which, in the Gordon inventory, are listed in the rooms for which they were intended, but the rest of the furnishings are very similar. There are fewer pans, but there are some articles which do not appear in the Gordon kitchen, such as a paste or rolling pin, extinguishers and wooden spoons. A porridge pot is unusual in a London house, and there are two fish kettles but only seven pans. As well as the ordinary jack there is also a smoke jack.

There are not many accounts for furniture bought for the Gordon house, as most of it was supplied by John Gordon, whose accounts have already been quoted. There are various bills dating from 1737, but these are mostly for furniture sent to Scotland. A few of the bills can tentatively

be identified with the furniture in Upper Grosvenor Street, for instance a pair of compass easy chairs, upholstered in Spanish leather, bought in 1748 from James Brown at the King's Arms, on the south side of St Paul's churchyard, at 27s each.[15] Two of the card tables were supplied by John Prestage in the same year, at 5 guineas the pair,[16] and one of the Wilton carpets was bought from Elizabeth Hutt, upholsterer at the Blue Curtain in St Paul's churchyard, costing £9 8s 6d, for 29 yards in 1749.[17]

The despised Alexander Dingwall continued to be patronised by the duke, but on the whole his efforts were confined to simple joinery - repairing locks, mending bells, hanging lanterns, packing barrels, laying carpets (with 'tin tax'), and straightening doors. Apart from these chores he made kitchen chairs and a cradle, and some of the useful furniture sent to Enfield.[18] He also acted as middleman and bought furniture for the duke, including some pieces from the sale of Joseph Thorpe's effects, and described them in his bill, given in table 90. They cost £43 19s in all, of which sum Dingwall left 2 guineas at the sale, and the duke himself paid the balance later.[19]

It is difficult to produce a good comparison, for the Findlaters only rented furnished accommodation, and so did Lord Glenorchy, while the Duke of Buccleuch lived mainly at Boughton or Blackheath. There is no surviving inventory of the contents of the houses rented by Alexander, earl of Marchmont, or Hugh, his son, at Hemel Hempstead, and the Duke of Bedford's house was naturally on a far grander scale.

The Grant of Grant rented house in Westminster is the best comparison available, though as the table of furnishings shows, it is smaller

and less completely furnished.[20] The servants for instance are not nearly as well housed as the Gordon servants, for the maidservants' garret contains only a bed and an old rush bottomed chair, and the men-servants' garret is the same. Even the spare room sounds far from cosy, with its tester bed, mahogany linen chest and three mahogany chairs, a washingstand, grate and two coats in the closet. The Grants' own bedroom is more comfortable, with a large mahogany tester bed, a small carpet, two mahogany chests of drawers, a mahogany armchair, six rush bottomed chairs, seven old prints, a grate and a washingstand. Mr Grant could work quite well in his dressing room which held a bookcase, a mahogany writing table, a large armchair, reading stand, card table and library table and a Wilton carpet. Oddly enough, the diningroom apparently holds ten chairs but no table apart from a card table: possibly the family ate downstairs in the great parlour which contained two large mahogany folding tables and 12 mahogany chairs. The family could still use the little parlour as a sitting room, for the bed was a folding one in a press, and there was also Mrs Grant's dressingroom upstairs, which may have been quite comfortable with mahogany chairs and bureau and a folding table.

The Scotts of Harden bought a variety of furniture for their rented London house during the years 1769-70.[21] This is given in table 91, and included more carpets and floor coverings generally than was customary: a turkey carpet at £24, a stair carpet, two small rugs and 13 yards of Scotch carpet bought in remnants. There were nine bedsteads: a four posted bed of mahogany with moreen curtains, three field bedsteads with check curtains, three servants' beds with blue curtains and two unspecified

beds, all with featherbeds, bolsters, pillows and coverlets. Most of the expensive pieces of furniture were of mahogany: these included a tambour frame for Lady Diana, various tables (breakfast, Pembroke and card, along with three small tables made to form one large diningtable when required), a bureau desk, a desk cum bookcase, clothes press, sofas and glasses. There is only one piece of walnut mentioned - a chest of drawers. Some of the chairs were beech, and the furnishings were completed with chintz window curtains, oval glasses in green and white frames, bookshelves, tea table and tea tray, both of mahogany. As well as buying this furniture, the Scotts also hired a large diningtable and another bedstead.

The Countess of Dalkeith and Charles Townshend, her second husband, lived in Grosvenor Square after they migrated from Brook Street in 1757, but there is no extant inventory of the contents of either house. Occasional purchases of furniture appear in accounts - a card and backgammon table bought at an auction in 1758, and a chessboard and men in the following year. Lady Dalkeith did purchase an enormously expensive suite of silver from Kaendler in 1747, which cost £871 8s 6d. It consisted of a tureen and cover for soup and two soup ladles, 19 dishes of different sizes, 24 plates and four hand waiters, and the total weight was 2404 oz 19 dr.[22]

Lady Dalkeith also purchased silver at sales, and so did Lord Glenorchy, who was at some expense to keep his armorially correct, for when he bought it secondhand it had to go to a silversmith to have the arms removed and 'G' and a coronet put on; and then when his father died, it all went back, to have the 'G' replaced by a 'B' and an earl's

coronet. Lady Dalkeith's purchases were at the sales of silver belonging to Lady Carlisle, Lord Tyrconnel, Lord Strafford and Lady Isabella Scott.

The laird of Grant was more economical, for he sent for his silver from Scotland for use in London, and then exchanged the older unfashionable pieces for the newer productions of the London silversmiths. An undated list mentions various articles sent from Scotland including cutlery, candlesticks, salts and a coffeepot as well as the oldest plates and trenchers.[23]

Cleland's letters to Marchmont do not usually mention furniture, but in one he enclosed a list from the landlord of the unlocated house in table 85. This list mentions fashionable walnut chairs, yellow mohair hangings in the two parlours, crimson damask curtains in the diningroom and a green damask bed in the bedchamber. Cleland however was not impressed by the furniture, nor by the landlord's claim that there were four handsome beds in the house and five fit for servants, all new furniture 'and not one bug ever seen in the house'. Even this inducement did not persuade Marchmont to take it, so there must have been other snags.[24]

Lady Findlater did not buy furniture in London, and she was too careful a housekeeper to expose her silver plate to the dangers of a journey and strange servants: instead she hired it. In 1746, she borrowed 12 knives, forks and spoons, one soup spoon, three castors, four salts and a milkpot. Hiring the lot for three months cost her 2 guineas. She did buy some teaspoons on the same visit. There is an account for a set made by William Cripps in 1759, consisting of a knife, fork, spoon, spicebox, cup, corkscrew and nutmeg grater, all in a shagreen case, at £8 10s 2d. But this was a rare moment of extravagance.[25]

Colonel Robert Douglas was in London intermittently as a member of parliament. The totals of what he spent there in 1735-46 are: silver £228, food and wine £156, rent and lodgings £104, house furnishing £130 and taxes £43. This is a good deal of money to spend on silver, and Douglas patronised six different silversmiths, usually exchanging his old silver for the new. Once Frederick Kaendler supplied him with silver and took so much old in exchange that he paid Douglas 4s 11d instead of Douglas paying him.[26]

Glenorchy always rented a furnished house, and the furniture he did buy was for Sugnall or Taymouth. His accounts give very little information about his lodgings. In 1735 he paid £100 for six months rent of a house in Grosvenor Square; by 1737 he was in Henrietta Street at £65 for six months. On this occasion the lower rate is explained by the fact that furniture was not included but hired from Jones and Powell, upholsterers, at £12 for a year. By 1747 he was in Jermyn Street at 6 guineas a week, and then in 1754, in St James's Street, in a house previously occupied by the Earl of Scarborough, which was let furnished except for linen, china, drinking glasses, earthenware, knives and forks, mops, brooms and mats, at £240 for a year, the lease to run for three years. This house was unlucky, for Glenorchy's son developed smallpox there and so did at least one of the servants, who died of it, and Glenorchy (now Breadalbane) bargained with the landlord to cancel the rest of the lease, giving him £40 to take the house off his hands. He then moved to Albemarle Street at a weekly rent of 6 guineas, and he was still paying this in 1758.

Glenorchy's accounts do not specify much furniture: the Henrietta

Street house contained a harpsichord, and there is an interesting account for a piece of furniture made for him by John Whitby, cabinetmaker, in 1758. His bill describes it as a large mahogany chest of drawers, with a sliding prospect in the top part, fitted up complete, with small drawers and pigeonholes, the front to turn down to write on, supported by brass quadrants, the whole fitted up with brass locks and handles, complete, at £7 16s, with another 10s for brass castors, and 9s 6d for fitting up two of the large drawers with partitions and loading the back with 22 lb of lead. The total of £8 15s 6d was paid on 24 April 1758.[27] It was probably for Taymouth, like the seven tables which Glenorchy bought in 1739, all of mahogany: one for eight people, one for ten and one for twelve, the fourth with four leaves and the fifth one square. The other two were a breakfast table with two flaps, and a large machined slab on a redwood frame, at £7 10s, which was more than any of the others, which cost between 2 guineas and £3 13s. Like the other Scots nobles, he bought furniture secondhand at sales: in 1742, a backgammon table with men, boxes and dice, all for £1 5s. Though his furniture might be hired, he had the usual troubles with it, for in 1775, he paid a man described as a 'bug doctor' £2 12s 6d for 'curing' five beds of bugs.

The only household item for which Glenorchy showed any enthusiasm was silver, like Colonel Douglas. He bought a good deal of this, mostly in London, patronising various silversmiths including Lamerie, Kaendler (who supplied the Kenmore communion cups in 1775), Archambo and Gilpin. He also bought silver at auctions, including some of the effects of Lord Halifax in 1738 and the Duke of Somerset in 1749.

There are many accounts for small items purchased for the Gordon

family. Pewter always came from Alexander Hamilton, who supplied the plate and engraved it. The duke's own, bought in 1745, was engraved with a ducal coronet, stag's head and motto at 8d a piece, while the two elder boys also had their own plates engraved with their arms. Two years later, the next order was engraved with a coronet and the letter 'G'.

From the 1753 inventory, the house did not contain much china and glass. There was a tea and coffee set with the family arms, some of which was broken, and another set, described as coloured china, consisting of nine teacups, nine saucers, six coffeecups with handles, teapot and stand, milkpot, canister, sugar dish and cover, slop basin, plate and spoonboat, along with an unspecified number of chocolate cups and saucers. The dinner set was a mixture, including coloured, blue and white, and Chinese armorial. The factory is not mentioned, and the accounts are usually equally unsatisfactory. Items such as a fine 'landskip' milkpot in 1737, and a dozen fine enamelled china plates in 1740 are certainly imported, probably Meissen. However by 1745, when the duke bought four dozen plates, 12 fine enamelled dishes and 12 soup plates from Frederick Stanton at the Indian Queen, it might have been Chelsea or Bow, for both factories were producing coloured soft paste porcelain by then. Cosmo George certainly bought some porcelain from the Bow factory in 1751, including an Argyll spoonboat, which the factory was careful to point out had been sold cheap because it had a small defect.[28] Archibald, third duke of Argyll, also patronised the Bow factory, though he sent some of his purchases to Glasgow so that they could be copied there.

There are also bills for earthenware, but these are anonymous

productions too. It nearly all came from John Liddiard, and consisted of bowls, jugs, pudding pans, basins, mugs, chamberpots, butterpots and dishes. Another supplier, John Sanders, sold more sophisticated ware, including a set of enamelled earthenware, consisting of 16 enamelled dishes in three sizes, 26 soup plates, 48 plates and two half pint mugs. This cost £2 11s 10d in 1749.[29]

Glass came from a variety of shops including Frederick Stanton, the china man, and John Liddiard, as well as five other shops. There was very little glass in the house in 1753, apart from five decanters, some wine, water and washing glasses, five blue rummers and a wrought glass on feet.

Similarly, there is little linen in the cupboard. The list is given in table 88. Individual values are not given, only a total of £40 18s. Some of these items can be identified with the accounts. The damask tablecloth and 12 napkins with the Scots arms were bought from John Davidson[30] in 1748, and cost 8 guineas. Sheeting was bought from John Stewart, linendraper at the Seven Stars in New Bond Street, at 13d the yard, presumably for servants' sheets. A dozen damask napkins, possibly those in the inventory, were bought from Samuel Tucker in 1751, and cost £3 10s.

The kitchen incidentals came from various turners. They supplied kitchen items, brushes, brooms, sieves, mats, pails, mousetraps, baskets, rollingpins, ladles, bowls and anything else required that could be made of wood. Katherine's purchases from Richard Keene, turner, at the Bee Hive opposite the Duke of Grafton's, in Old Bond Street,[31] included all these things as well as a crewel frame.

Copperware came from different suppliers. William Sparke sold items of copper, brass, tin, leather, iron and steel, including a copper cheese toaster, brass gun hooks, japanned tin mugs, leather bread baskets, an iron japanned waiter, a curling iron and a steel hand candlestick. Later, William Sellars, who described himself as a brazier, at the Mortar and Pestle in Little Tower Street, was patronised. In 1742 he sent a large order of copper pots and pans for Gordon Castle, costing £24 11s 6d. In the following year he sold the duke a couple of steel grates, also for Gordon Castle. He was succeeded first by Thomas Salt and Company, who sold the same kind of things, mostly of copper, and then by William Torbett, coppersmith, who not only made the equipment but mended it too. Saucepans mended cost 6d, and tinned 1s 7d, pattypans cost a shilling for mending and tinning, mending a teakettle and wickering the handle cost 1s 6d, and tinning a large soup kettle cost 3s 6d. Torbett was prepared to take old pewter and bell metal in part exchange: pewter at 8d and bell metal at 6d the pound.

Knives for the kitchen came from William Jarrett, cutler. He charged 5s for a large chopper, 2s 6d for a hand chopper and 2s for cooks' knives. He ground knives at 2d, and supplied new handles. Moulds were supplied in various shapes including swan, turk's head, turnip, cock's comb, fish and hedgehog.

With as careless a family as the Gordons, tradesmen were always in demand for repairs: joiners, glaziers, plumbers, bricklayers, plasterers, paviours and locksmiths. The glazier cleaned windows as well as mending them, charging £1 for cleaning 40 sash windows. The nursery was also usually in need of new glass, in spite of the bars over the

windows. The bricklayer laid floors, cleaned gutters, and did some plumber's work including cleaning out the cesspool, while the plumber himself mended the cistern pipes. The paving was done outside the front door.

Neither Glenorchy nor Findlater left any comparable accounts, though both Glenorchy and Lady Findlater bought porcelain in London. Glenorchy bought some from the mysterious Limehouse factory in 1747, four sauceboats costing 15s for the four.[32] He bought Bow porcelain in 1752, Worcester in 1758 and Chelsea in 1764. He also bought Chinese porcelain in 1777 from Robert Fogg, chinaman, who described it as fine Nankin cups and saucers, and earthenware, including Wedgwood in 1776. The Grant of Grant china is not fully described in the inventory. They ate their breakfast off blue and white scalloped china and drank tea from an earthenware teapot. Their afternoon tea was poured from more blue and white, and their dinner service was of earthenware, with a few china dinner plates. There was little glassware apart from some flowered wine glasses, some plain glasses and six decanters.

Various taxes had to be paid for the Gordon house, some due yearly, the rest quarterly. The list was: watch rate 18s 4d, poor rate £2 5s 10d, window tax £1 13s 6d, Chelsea water rate, and scavengers' rate 13s 9d, all for a six months period; highway rate 13s 9d and land tax £7 16s, both for a year.

Another odd payment was to the lamplighter. William Richards did this job, 1747-52. For lighting two lamps for six months from the beginning of November to the middle of May, he charged £1 the quarter, with extra for the odd days, in 1747-8 and 1748-9. In 1750-1 and 1751-2, he charged for a full year at the same rate of £1. He also made small tinned

articles and sold them to the household.

Like other Scottish peers of any pretensions, Cosmo George owned a country house in England. His was on the edge of Enfield Chase, about 10 miles north of London, which was useful for a Scot. He bought it in May 1750 from Dr Roger Pettiward. It was in the manor of Enfield, and was held copyhold. The furniture was also sold by Dr Pettiward, and was bought at valuation.

The house was not on a grand scale. It consisted of two storeys and garrets with outbuildings. The servants and nursery slept in the garrets, the drawingroom and two bedrooms with dressingrooms and closets were on the first floor, and a bedchamber, dining parlour, hall, waiting-room and kitchen premises on the ground level. Attached round the yard there were various outbuildings - laundry and stables with coachman's room over, while the kitchen was adjoined by various offices - larder, small beer cellar, scullery and two servants' halls. There was a productive garden with a greenhouse, and some enclosed ground on the Chase.

Before the Gordons moved in, some repairs were necessary. The roof was harled and various parts of the woodwork renewed. The repairs were done by local tradesmen: Elizabeth Nicholls, plumber, James Jefferson, bricklayer, John Harold, carpenter, and two smiths, all in Enfield. A London tradesman was only employed once, to put the wallpaper on the staircase: the paper was patterned in festoons with a border, and came from Thomas Brenthall, costing £4 3s 8d in all. By July 1750, some furniture was sent from London: two unspecified loads as well as 24 dozen bottles, two beds and four chairs. In September of that year, the butcher's waggon was hired to bring another load.

As the house was bought ready furnished, the duke did not have to buy much extra. Some goods were bought in London - blue check material for bed hangings and curtains, cutlery, sheeting and a set of stoneware from Henry Twentyman, consisting of the following pieces: six different sizes of oblong dishes (four of each size), three dozen dinner plates, one dozen soup plates, one square dish, one tureen and dish, three fruit baskets in different sizes, two pairs of sauceboats, three pairs of salts, 12 basins in different sizes, eight mugs, two teapots and 12 chamberpots. The total of the bill for all this was £8 19s 6d.[33] Apart from these items, a few pieces of furniture were supplied by Alexander Dingwall: five strong mahogany chairs, Marlborough style, with leather seats, at £1 each, 12 wainscot kitchen chairs for the garrets, a mahogany bedstead on castors, with all its furniture, a beechwood bedstead for the nursery with furniture, four other beds for the cook, butler and two unspecified servants, all hung with blue linsey, along with blue and white check window curtains, and a plain floorcloth for the fore parlour. Some pieces of furniture were taken from the London house: the six hall chairs with the duke's crest had been there, and perhaps one of the clocks. Other small items were procured locally: clothes baskets, a wig block and stand, tubs for the greenhouse, pails and kitchen sundries. There was also a brazier who tinned the pans, a gunsmith, and a clockmaker who oiled the two clocks and put them in order.

Table 92 gives the sale catalogue of what was in the house when the contents were sold in 1753 after Cosmo George's death.[34] This gives all the furniture to be sold, though Katherine must have removed some pieces, for there is only one clock and there are only two pictures,

while the drawingroom sounds incompletely furnished. It was an outside sale, and the lots could be inspected on five previous days to the sale. Unfortunately there is no list of the original Pettiward furniture to compare it with.

From this catalogue, the servants are adequately housed in the garrets. There are six rooms on this floor - four for servants, the fifth a nursery and the sixth apparently not used. All the bedsteads on this floor are described as sacking bottom bedsteads and one is a four post, and the curtains are of check linen, blue figure stuff or plaid. They all contain a featherbed, bolster, blankets and a coverlet or quilt, except the one in the dark garret where no furniture is listed. In addition to two bedsteads, the nursery contains a walnut chest, four wainscot chairs, two square tables, a black Japan chest, a walnut glass, and is heated with a stove. The check garret also has a stove, but there is no heating mentioned in the other garrets, so either there was none, or only a grate which would not be mentioned in a list of moveable furniture.

The first floor contained two main bedrooms with dressingrooms and closets, as well as the drawingroom. Both bedchambers held four post beds with check linen curtains, and the back bedroom had three windows also with check curtains, and its dressingroom had another two windows with the same curtains. The bed in this room had a featherbed, bolster, two pillows, four blankets and a white tufted counterpane, and the other bedroom was the same, except that the counterpane was replaced by a linen quilt. There are no window curtains mentioned in this front room. All the furniture specified in these two rooms is of mahogany: clothes chest, desk and bookcase combined, dressingtable, chairs and

armchairs and bureau. Both rooms had closets: one held a low deal chest of drawers and a wainscot close stool, and the other a large mahogany bureau. Both rooms had chimney glasses, square steel stoves and appurtenances. The drawingroom only held 11 chairs, two armchairs, two cardtables and two oblong diningtables, all of mahogany, so some things had been removed before the sale, for the room must have contained the regulation pierglasses and tables between the windows, as well as a carpet, pictures and nicknacks.

On the ground floor, the hall contained another oblong mahogany diningtable and two more mahogany cardtables, an eight day clock by Latham, a barometer and a fowling piece, as well as the six hall chairs with the duke's crest. As usual when pressed for space, an extra bed was placed in the passage, this time a mahogany bureau bedstead on castors. This was probably for the butler, as his pantry only contained glass, china and cutlery, not the usual press bed. The only family or guest bedroom on this floor was furnished with a mahogany four post bedstead and check linen curtains, a mahogany bureau and six chairs, two French armchairs and some elaborate furniture: a large sconce in a carved and gilt frame and a large marble sideboard table on a particoloured frame. The dining parlour contained another marble sideboard table, this one of a white and veined marble, a large oval mahogany diningtable, six mahogany chairs and two walnut armchairs, all with black leather seats, brass nailed, another sconce, and a mahogany pillar and claw table. There was only a floorcloth on the floor, and the room was heated with a steel stove.

The rest of the accommodation on the ground floor was either offices

or servants' quarters. Oddly, for such a small house, there were two servants' halls: the old one held only a wainscot table and a form, and the other, presently in use, was slightly better equipped with two tables, one form and a green Windsor chair.

One of the main advantages of the house was its garden, which was extremely productive. Even before the family had moved in, vegetables and fruit were sent up to London by a horse, with panniers especially bought for the purpose, accompanied by the undergardener. There were two full time gardeners: James Haught who was paid £30 12s yearly, and his assistant, William Mitchell, who was paid weekly and board wages too, 9s a week for both. Odd men were also hired when necessary, to mow the hay or dig in the garden, and they received 1s 6d daily.

There is nothing to show which flowers were grown but table 65 gives details, taken from lists of the produce sold when the family was not in residence, and of other vegetables which were also grown though not apparently sold. In addition to these plants, the greenhouse contained a large collection of exotics. There was also a field, adjoining the garden, on the Chase, which produced hay for the horses.

The duke paid various taxes for this property: window tax at £3 10s, highway rates at a guinea, land tax at £7 16s and poor's rates at £5, all yearly, as well as tithes for the two acres of grass at 3s a year. There was also a rate of 13s 4d imposed for repairing Enfield parish church.

There are not many accounts for provisions bought at Enfield, though there was the usual assortment of merchants. The next table (93) shows what was bought locally during the summer of 1751, July to

November. The least helpful account detailed is that of Bartholomew Ibbott, the butcher. His book-keeping is annoying, for he sometimes remembers to specify mutton or beef, but usually he merely writes 'meat'. The totals are given as Ibbott has written them, and like all the other accounts, the bill starts in the middle of July and ends at the beginning of November, which explains why the totals for these two months are much smaller than for the intervening months. As in London, pork and veal appear in smaller quantities, and more mutton seems to be eaten than beef, but this may be due to the fact that perhaps the beef is concealed in the indeterminate heading of meat. The largest quantity is eaten in September: 10,451 lb of meat in all. All the meat is charged at a flat rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$d per pound, and suet costs the same: a quarter of lamb and a goose both cost 3s 6d, and a pig is 4s 6d. Calves' heads cost 2s 6d, feet a penny and sweetbreads a shilling. Lamb's neck is 1s 4d, and sheep's heads 6d each. They were used to feed the dogs kept at Enfield when the family was away: between July 1751 and July 1752, Ibbott supplied 175 sheep's heads for this purpose.

The Enfield maltster, John Clarke, supplied malt as well as hops: malt cost 3s 3d the bushel, and hops 1s 4d the pound. Coal came from Anne Clarke, coalmerchant, at £1 17s the chalder in June and £2 in November. Milk came from Edmund Saggers and cost $1\frac{1}{2}$d per quart. He did not sell cream (which does not appear at all), and eggs came from Frances Harradine, described by Cosmo George as a 'higgler woman', along with butter and poultry. Butter was also sold by the grocer. Frances Harradine's butter cost 8d per pound, and the price of eggs rises from 6d a dozen in August to 8d by October. Fowls and chickens cost 1s or 1s 3d each.

William Green, baker, sold quartern loaves at 5½d in August, rising to 6d a month later. He also baked pies and puddings for the family, as the London baker did, at 2d a time. A peck of flour cost 1s 10d to 2s, a bushel of bran 1s 3d, a bushel of barley 2s 8d to 3s, and rolls cost 1d each.

George Albin, who combined the functions of a grocer, hardware shop and tallow chandler, sold a variety of goods listed in the same table (93). Items marked with an asterisk are never sold in any quantity specified, so the price is given alone, in default of any kind of measure. The provisions sold are fairly basic, and indicate why parcels of groceries were sent from London, along with fish. Either there was not a fishmonger in Enfield, or the cook did not approve of the fish sold.

Apart from the summer of 1751, when the duke was there for some months, the house was maintained by a caretaker, Jane or Jean Barclay, whose weekly boardwage was 5s. When the family came to Enfield, she was transferred to caretake in the London house at the same rate. She also disbursed the money for necessaries for cleaning the house and her own washing: soap, sand, brushes, brooms and dusters for the one, and starch, soap and blue for the other. She also charged for candles, and turnpikes when the undergardener went to London with the garden produce. She fed the turkeys and presumably boiled the sheep's heads for the dogs, and looked after the hens and pigeons. As well as the 5s weekly boardwages, she claimed another shilling for small beer weekly, but the account does not show whether this was allowed or not. She remained at Enfield when the boys were sent there from Harrow during the school holidays, or when ill; and Kettie was also sent from London to

convalesce. On these occasions, the housekeeper paid for the asses' milk and whey for the invalids, and the Enfield apothecary prescribed purging potions, cordial powders, specific powders, stomatic pills, pectoral linctus and saline draughts in abundance.

Most of the servants were brought with the family from London, but occasionally extra help was needed in the kitchen. Elizabeth Haynes was hired for four weeks when Alexander and William had their school holidays, at $4\frac{1}{2}$d per day, and she was also employed to clean the house before the London maids arrived, and did some washing. A cookmaid, Lydia Wood, was also employed for two and a half months in the summer of 1752 at £6 a year.

The servants had the usual disbursements refunded to them. John Grant and Andrew Reid, footmen, both submitted accounts which were paid. Grant was frequently sent to the post office to send and collect letters, while Reid went to Harrow to bring back the boys and James Bennet took places in the Enfield stage coach for the two housemaids, and supervised the transport of the luggage, which was sent by coach from Grosvenor Square to Bishopsgate and from there to Enfield by the coach.

While the family was at Enfield, their own washing was done in the house, and some of the servants' was too, but some was farmed out. Susan Haynes did the outside washing, and table 94 shows the male servants' washing for September, October and November 1751. There are only two bills covering this period, divided at 5 October, so it is not possible to tabulate the washing week by week. From this list it seems that the number of shirts and neckcloths or cravats is about equal, while stockings appear less frequently, and handkerchiefs perhaps once a week.

Only Forbes and Black, the cook and the butler, wear ruffled shirts, the others have plain linen.

Most of the other Scots peers of importance, or at least those who could afford it, also had country houses in England. Buccleuch had Boughton and Adderbury, Roxburghe lived at Henley Park, Montrose had Cley in Norfolk, Ilay owned Whitton and Argyll Sudbroke, Marchmont had a house at Hemel Hempstead, and Breadalbane lived at Sugnall. The Findlaters were not among these: they travelled to London and then back to Cullen. These English houses were either inherited through an English marriage, rented or bought. Breadalbane acquired Sugnall by his second marriage to Arabella, co-heir of John Pearsall of Great Sugnall, and Buccleuch inherited Adderbury through the marriage of James, earl of Dalkeith, his father, to Henrietta, daughter of Laurence, earl of Rochester. Where details survive of these houses, they are on a much larger scale than the Gordon house at Enfield. Adderbury for example contained at least 64 rooms. Table 95 gives details of the rooms at Enfield, Adderbury and Henley Park.

From this table, Enfield is rather smaller than Henley,[35] and much smaller than Adderbury.[36] The latter is definitely palatial, with curtains at the windows in 26 rooms, 24 carpets, hangings in 11 rooms, 34 grates, 20 bedsteads, 179 chairs and 61 tables. As at Enfield, the inventory was made up when the contents of the house were sold, and it is not complete, so some items must have been removed before the sale. The outside offices over the stables contain bedrooms for a groom, postilion, steward and footmen, as well as five other rooms. There is an attic, but

otherwise the contents of the house are not specified, apart from a lodge.

Henley is smaller, but still bigger than Enfield. There were 123 chairs, 12 beds, 26 window curtains, 27 tables, eight looking glasses and seven close stools. The duke's room contained a blue camlet bed, six Dutch chairs, a Windsor chair and a shaving chair, and a wicker chair, a field bedstead, window curtains at two windows, a looking glass and chimney furniture.

Breadalbane gives very little information about his wife's house at Sugnall. Some years he was little there, and then he might be there for several months, when he attended the assizes, justices' meetings, quarter sessions, and elections at Stafford and elsewhere. He also dined out with all the neighbours. The gardener was less well paid than his counterpart at Enfield: he only received £18 yearly. However, Breadalbane was sufficiently interested in the garden to send a variety of fruit trees in 1739, being dwarf and standard peaches, nectarines, six kinds of vine, seven kinds of fig, 14 kinds of dwarf apricots, dwarf plums, dwarf pears and dwarf cherries. The order cost £10 4s 3d in all. Other items sent to Sugnall included ornamental fowl, a cat, wine and sweetmeats. During his absence from London he paid his caretaker 7s a week.

Claremont is on much too grand a scale to be called a country retreat; in 1752, Newcastle employed 15 servants there, whose wages amounted to £223 per annum. These were presumably joined by the other London servants when the duke was in the country, for the list for Claremont does not mention indoor male servants, apart from a brewer and a drudge.[37]

Similarly, Whitton was a much larger establishment and was

furnished in the latest taste most elegantly.[38] The house was not very large, but had a couple of wings, connected by passages, and stood in a big, elaborately laid out garden with adjoining grounds well planted with trees. The grounds contained a variety of buildings in the newest fashion for 'Gothick' and the Chinese taste, including two 'Gothick' towers, one of them triangular, a Chinese temple, a Chinese summerhouse and some Chinese fish in a pond. Water was brought to the house from a wind engine, housed in a brick engine house as far from the house as possible, and there were also wind stoves in the house. There were two lavatories, though only the 'best necessary' is described: this was paved with black and white marble, had two sash windows with green harratine curtains and two doors with inside shutters. The seats were also faced with marble, and there was a mat on the marble floor. The gardens and hothouse contained an extraordinarily wide selection of exotics, including pineapples in a pinery, prickly pears and a number of other varieties of aloe, orange and lemon trees in tubs and pots, myrtles, balm of gilead, a tea tree, ice plants, sumachs, heliotropes and winter cherries. The garden also contained an octagonal aviary, a hexagonal summerhouse of canvas,[39] geese, ducks, pigeons, carp and other fish. Livestock indoors included canaries in cages, a cockateel, and there had been a pet squirrel for its cage was still there. Other unusual furnishings included beds of manchineal,[40] two 'pache mortels',[41] and a parcel of shells for decorating a grotto.

CHAPTER 9

LONDON: OCCUPATIONS AND CLOTHES

Once the Scottish peer had arrived in London there was plenty to do. Occupations can readily be divided into five headings: work, entertainment, instruction, medical treatment and shopping.

The ostensible reason for a visit to London for the sixteen representative peers was to attend parliament. Of the sixteen peers, 1747-52, the period in which Cosmo George was one, seven of them had English wives (three of these seven having had two), and two of them had English mothers, one had been educated in England, and another owned property there, in addition to the others with English connections who also owned land in England. This leaves only six peers with no English connection at all. So the majority of the peers had English relations or possessions of some kind, and, from their being representative peers, they could be relied on to support the government and follow its lead. They had homes in England and relations to visit, and their occupations were very much as in Scotland, though on a more expensive scale. There were few able men among them: Argyll was the only successful politician, and of the others, five were in the army, one was a diplomat, and the rest have minor posts or nothing. The first table in this chapter (96) shows the representative peers, their English connections and any government posts or honours they held. Aberdeen is alone with nothing at all, while Gordon and Moray only receive the Thistle, though Gordon did inherit his mother's pension of £1000 a year. On the whole it does not sound as if George II's

government thought it necessary to conciliate the Scottish peerage to any extent.

The following table (97) shows their attendance in the Lords in the same period. Argyll is an easy winner with 253 attendances, followed by Loudoun and Tweeddale, 155 and 152, Hyndford 117, and then Findlater and Gordon, 107 and 103. As the total number of sessions was 381, the record is not very high. The number of appearances per session is also given, with Argyll and Loudoun again leading, attending every session, while Gordon, Tweeddale, Lothian, Rothes, Home and Lauderdale attend four out of the five. Craufurd, Dunmore and Marchmont are bottom, with only one session each to their credit.

As Cosmo George was the first generation Gordon peer to sit in a British parliament, he had to buy robes. These came from William Shudall, whose tradecard described him as robemaker to HRH the Duke of Cumberland, at the Judge's Robe behind St Clement's. They cost £45, a startling increase on the £11 paid by the Duke of Bedford fifty years earlier in 1701. When Bedford took his seat he paid £25 in all among the ushers, clerks and doorkeepers.[1] There is no record of what any of the Scottish peers provided on similar occasions.

Cosmo George's first appearance in parliament was at the opening on 19 November 1747, when he took the oaths along with the other newcomers. During the session 1747-8, his name appears 11 times as one of a number of peers appointed to serve on committees or to consider various bills. These included a committee to consider the orders and customs of the House, the privilege of parliament and of the peers of Great Britain and the lords of parliament. This committee met every Monday.

The other bills were private ones presented by various peers and a York and Durham roads repairing bill, and they were all passed. The next session opened on 29 November 1748, and Cosmo George was among those appointed to consider three more private bills.

He was absent altogether the following session, 1749-50, having written to Newcastle asking for leave of absence, as his own affairs made his presence at home essential. He left his proxy with Argyll before he departed, thus ensuring his vote was used as the government wished. He was back for the next two sessions, 1751 and 1751-2, and was once more among those appointed to consider various unimportant bills.

Findlater was present for only two out of the five sessions, 1747-52, but his attendance level is high for these two, higher than Argyll in both. His interest in the political scene is shown by his purchase of pamphlets while in London.[2] During his London visit of six months in 1739, his butler bought 15 pamphlets for him, relating to foreign and domestic affairs, including the South Sea company, one entitled 'Spanish insolence' and another 'The imperious stile of the Turks', as well as discussions on the land forces, the alliance between church and state, and an address to merchants. Findlater also received the votes and two newspapers (Evening Post and Advertiser) regularly. Lady Findlater kept a careful note of what her husband spent at the House of Lords in tips and odd payments. The disbursements of 1735 amounted to 7 guineas, distributed between the marshall men (1 guinea), the doorkeepers (1 guinea), the clerks (3 guineas), and the doorkeepers again for cases and a copy of the acts (2 guineas). The list kept for 1738 mentions another guinea to the Yeomen of the Guard, a further 2 guineas when Findlater carried the sword, 5s

for Lord Hopetoun's proxy and half a guinea to the doorkeepers of the House of Commons. In other years there are payments to the clerks for copies of papers on subjects of current interest, such as Captain Porteous in 1737, Spanish depredations in 1738 and Prussia in 1741-2.

Similarly, Breadalbane, who succeeded Dunmore as a representative peer in 1752, gave an annual half crown to the man at the Lords who called the coaches, and the same sum when he took the oaths. When he carried the sword of state for the first time in 1753, he gave 3 guineas as drinkmoney.

Cosmo George also tipped the doorkeepers at the Lords annually, giving 3 guineas a year to be divided among the eight of them.

Some peers had private business to transact in London, as well as their duties as representative peers. Cosmo George was concerned in a case which first came before the Lords in 1751. The dispute had arisen over the escheat of Cameron of Locheil. By the Clan Act of 1716, the property of a vassal entering into rebellion was declared to belong to the superior if he remained loyal, providing that he entered a claim to the vassal's lands within a specified time. Cosmo George, as superior of part of Locheil's lands of Mamore, entered such a claim, with another similar claim to that part of Cluny McPherson's estate also held of him. The crown lawyers objected, and the case came first before the Court of Session, where the judges decided for the duke. However, the case was then taken before the House of Lords, and was adjourned from session to session long after Cosmo George's death. A proposed settlement involving both Gordon and Argyll whereby they were to abandon their claims for a suitable recompense was rejected by the Gordon lawyers, and the

case was still dragging on in 1765.

Private acts of parliament were more rewarding. Breadalbane paid for one of these in 1775, when exchanging some lands with Menzies of Culdares. He also held various English offices, and left an account of the cost when he was appointed a justice in eyre in 1756-7, which amounts to nearly £150, most of this sum being paid for passing the patent.[3] Breadalbane attended quarter sessions and meetings of the justices of the peace when in Staffordshire. He was also warden of the royal forests south of the Trent. On his appointment in 1757 he recorded that he gave the customary present of four dozen bottles of claret costing him £12, to the verderers of Waltham Forest, and another 2 guineas was disbursed to enter his patent in the court books of Windsor Forest. In 1761, when he was appointed chief justice eyre south of the Trent, the fees incurred in passing his patent amounted to £142 17s.

Apart from attendance at the Lords, not much was expected of the representative peers. Argyll was a full time politician, but in this he was alone apart from Tweeddale's short spell as principal secretary of state for Scotland. The five soldiers among them, Crawfurd, Home, Loudoun, Rothes and Dunmore, were often abroad on service, and Hyndford, the diplomatist, was on embassies to Prussia, Russia and Vienna; but the others had nothing much to do. There were occasional opportunities such as being Commissioner to the General Assembly, with an allowance, and salaries for their nominal work as keeper of the great and privy seals or as lord clerk register, but the work was performed by deputies. Apart from the keepers of the seals, none of these jobs was particularly well paid. Argyll however did better. This is an extract from the civil list for

the midsummer quarter of 1747, showing the Scottish peerage in the list:

Argyll, keeper of the great seal, £750
Atholl, keeper of the privy seal, £750
Argyll, lord justice general, £500
Lothian, lord clerk register, £300
Kintore, knight marischal, £100
Bellenden, usher of exchequer, £52 17s 6d
Hamilton, keeper of Holyroodhouse, £11 10s
Gordon, pension, £250 (all per quarter)[4]

From this, Argyll had a yearly income from these two posts of £5,000 out of a total for the Scottish civil list in all of £9,911 7s 6½d, that is, about half the entire distribution.

There were other smaller grants from other sources: Aberdeen got £200 yearly from the bishops' rents of Orkney, and so did Banff and Lady Cromartie, while Leven, as Commissioner to the Assembly, was given £1000 yearly for his expenses.[5]

Otherwise the Scottish lords did not enter public life. Morton was a trustee of the British Museum, though as Glenorchy commented bitterly when Morton was given the Thistle in 1738, 'I see that a green ribbond may make a bad figure remarkable, but it does not inspire good manners'.[6] Lord Haddington was equally derisive about Findlater.[7] Leven was interested in freemasonry, for he was made grand master mason for Scotland in 1741, and Cosmo George was a mason too. Tweeddale was a governor of the Bank of Scotland, while Lauderdale and Hyndford were lords lieutenants for Edinburgh and Lanark.

Apart from these duties, the Scottish peer's life in London was one of entertainment. There was plenty to occupy oneself with, though purists of the old Scottish school, such as Sir John Sinclair and John Ramsay of

Ochtertyre, objected to the change and contrasted the life of a pre Union Scottish peer who (they said) stayed at home and minded his own business, with the giddy social whirl of a London season. A paper among the Marchmont muniments draws a colourful picture of the life of a town rake.[8] He rises at midday after a bad night, and breakfasts at one without appetite. His afternoon is filled by borrowing money at 20 per cent and being dunned by tradesmen. After riding in Hyde Park, he walks along Pall Mall and returns home to dress at six. Dinner with the nabob at eight is followed by the opera, two parties, a ball and Brooks, where our hero loses 5000 guineas, and returns home with a headache. This picture is not borne out by the surviving accounts kept by the Scottish peers. They seem to have patronised all the plays, concerts and operas available, but their gambling is on a very small scale, for none of them had the resources to do anything else, and at least they avoided bankruptcy. Their days were filled by sightseeing, dining out, trips around London, attendance at public events, horses and games, while the evenings were spent at the theatre or opera, balls, masquerades, riddottos and card playing for small sums.

A better picture of the pleasures of town life for a woman, is given in a letter from Sir Edward Walpole in 1749: 'a coach, a footman, a fine house, five maids, two lamps at your door, six cats, 17 kittens, several large carpets, all sorts of sweet wines, quantities of china and silver plate, diamond buckles and stayhooks, and a spring for your wig; the play three times a week, company at home the rest of it, the kitchen out of doors, and a tender husband within doors'.[9]

Masquerades were fashionable, and Cosmo George attended several

of these functions when in London in 1737-9. The accounts do not specify where his masquerade habits came from on these occasions, but later on, in 1748-9, they were bought or hired from Benjamin Day, at Long's warehouse, the corner of Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. In January 1747/8, Day sold Cosmo George a black domino at 4 guineas and a Venetian mask at 5s for himself, and two cheaper black dominoes and two half masks for his two unspecified friends. In the following month, Cosmo George hired two dominoes, one black and one blue at 15s each, and, a year later, Day made an elaborate costume, possibly for Katherine: it needed 14 yards of blue mantua, 20 yards of gold lace, 8 yards of white mantua, ribbons, and cost 2 guineas for making, along with a hat feather and mask, the total being £29 15s. Even the sober Lord Aboyne owned a domino, and had it altered in 1754, when a tailor added white serge sleeves to it.

Betting was another way of hazarding money. A memorandum book, writer unknown, covering the years 1765-9, gives various wagers made by the writer, the betters including Sir Alexander Gilmour, Major Alves, Mr Shaw Stewart and Lord Kelly, while the subjects are very various, including the height of Lord Binning (50 guineas), the possibility that Lord Lorne will become a peer of Great Britain (5 guineas), the result of the Douglas cause (£20), a pardon for Cesar Parr (a dinner), the birth of a child to Lady Dorothea Inglis within a year (1 to 4, no sum specified), and the dissolution of parliament (£21).[10]

John, lord Glenorchy, later third earl of Breadalbane, has left a very full account of how he spent his time. Table 98, taken from a volume of his accounts, shows his entertainments in London, 1733-41.[11] In the

evening he went to the theatre; Haymarket, Covent Garden, Drury Lane or Goodman's Fields. The prices varied a little. It usually cost five or six shillings for a box for the whole play, or a seat in the pit at 3s, but when Glenorchy only arrived in time for the farce after the main entertainment, this was cheaper at 2s 6d in a box. Benefits were more expensive - usually a guinea - as in 1757 when Breadalbane attended the benefit for Home's tragedy of 'Douglas'. He does not usually specify the name of the play attended. He was sometimes accompanied by one or two footmen and arrived in his coach; on these occasions the footmen were accommodated in the gallery at a shilling each. Operas and oratorios were more expensive: 10s 6d for an ordinary performance and again a guinea for a benefit. Sometimes the performers are named: Glenorchy attended two benefits for Farinelli[12] and also heard Vestris[13] and Madam Passarini.[14] The only time Glenorchy specifies the music it is Handel's. Sometimes he bought the libretto as well; this cost another 1s 6d. He was an opera enthusiast, and sometimes subscribed yearly; 15 guineas in 1732-4, and £21 in 1753. In the next volume of his accounts he attended both theatre and opera regularly: three operas and two plays in 1742 and 1744, one play in 1745, three plays and one opera in 1745, two of each in 1747, one opera in 1748 and four plays in 1750.

Cosmo George also attended the theatre, though he does not seem to have appreciated the opera. He went to Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and whiled away the interval with fruit, oranges and negus. Table 99 shows his entertainments in London during his visits of 1734-5[15] and 1736.[16] In the first he went to the play 39 times and the opera once, and in the second visit (only three weeks) he was once at the play. He

attended Mrs Clive's benefit on 13 March 1738/9, on a subsequent visit, which cost him 2s.

His father, Alexander, duke of Gordon, was also a keen playgoer when in London. The following table (100) shows how he spent his time and money.[17] He sometimes notes the name of the play. In 1724, there was 'Caesar in Egypt' and 'The Spartan Dame', and in 1727, 'The Fair Penitent', 'The Coronation' and 'The Beggars' Opera'. Alexander does not mention concerts much, though he sometimes records a ticket for a concert, or pays for music for dancing. He took friends with him on occasion: Mr Fraser, or Irvine of Drum to the play, Cousin Howard and Cousin Harriet Howard to the opera, and Mr Gordon to a concert of music. The only playhouse mentioned by name is the one in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Dining out was another popular way of spending the day or sometimes supper in the evening, though dinner is much more frequent. Glenorchy kept a record of where he dined in his accounts, though in the volume for 1733-41 he does not always differentiate between dining and merely paying a formal call. It was customary to tip the porter and footmen when visiting and Glenorchy always left half a crown for an ordinary call and sometimes half a guinea to someone special like Sir Robert Walpole's or Argyll's domestics. The Findlaters often gave a Christmas tip of half a guinea to three of Walpole's servants.

Glenorchy was very constant in his friends, for he dined mainly with his English relations or other members of parliament. He included Jersey, Inchiquin, Hardwicke and Kent among his English connections, and Argyll, Ilay and Campbell of Mamore, later fourth duke of Argyll, in Scotland. He occasionally dined with other Scots peers. Those mentioned

during this period are Findlater and Morton, Lady Annandale and Lady Wemyss. His other friends are English or Welsh politicians, such as North and Scarborough in the Lords, and Dr Charles Cotes, Bussy Mansel, William Talbot, Thomas Villiers, Sir Charles Wager, Sir William Yonge and John Wright in the Commons.

Glenorchy's next account book covers the years 1742-51, and this time he usually states whether he dines or not.[18] Tables 101 and 102 give details of where and how often he dined out. He was usually out of town like everyone else in the summer, and he was kept in Scotland by the Jacobite rebellion in 1745-6. The yearly average apart from 1746 varies between 15 and 34 dinners, mostly in the months December to March. Most of the people mentioned have already appeared in the previous volume. The Campbells are naturally still prominent, and so are Glenorchy's English relations. Again, few Scottish peers are mentioned: only Findlater three times, Portmore and Tweeddale twice, and Somerville and Leven once. No Gordons are ever mentioned. Mr Mansel and Mr Talbot, Lords Hardwicke and North occur the most frequently.

Cosmo George's London dinners are not as well documented, for, apart from one short period, he did not keep an account of his personal expenses. While he was still under tutelage, his governor or tutor kept a note of his disbursements for the duke, and table 99 shows where the duke dined in 1734-5 and 1736.[19] His dining out is much more limited than Glenorchy's: he was young, and his English connections are either Catholic like Norfolk, or older and rather disapproving like Peterborough, his grandfather, and the other Mordaunts and Poyntzes. Nearly all the people mentioned are relations. The Gordons are Knockespick, Inver-

gordon and a French connection from Boulogne. His mother's connections include Peterborough, Mr Poyntz, Colonel Charles and Mrs Mordaunt, Lords Limerick and Norfolk. Neighbours are Sir James Grant, Findlater and the Lairds of Udny and Brodie, the Lyon. On his following visit in 1736, his mother's relations alone are mentioned. Like Glenorchy, Cosmo George usually left half a crown when visiting.

Alexander, his father, had a much wider circle of acquaintances. He had English relations through his wife and mother and many foreign friends. Tables 103 and 104 show his hosts on his London visits.[20] The envoys of Portugal, Venice, Parma, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark are mentioned, as well as Scottish connections and neighbours such as Glasshaugh, Aberdeen and Sir William Gordon, Findlater and Colonel Monro. From reasons of policy, the government had also to be conciliated which meant frequent visits to court and calls on Sir Robert Walpole, Argyll and General Wade.

Apart from dining with friends, it was also fashionable to dine in various taverns in London. This was an expensive pastime, and, on the whole, not much frequented by the Scottish nobility. Cosmo George, however, in youth, seems to have tried every tavern in London. Supper at the Golden Eagle in Suffolk Street cost 23s, dinner at the Bedford Head 22s, at the chop house behind the Royal Exchange 27s, and at the Falstaff's Head £1 0s 6d. Glenorchy very seldom patronised a tavern, preferring the chocolate and coffee houses such as White's and George's. The only tavern he mentions by name is the Bedford Head, though he did sometimes dine in an unspecified tavern along with other members of a club of Staffordshire members. Cosmo George patronised coffeehouses

too, mentioning the Smyrna and the British. Alexander preferred Osinda's.

Sightseeing in London was also popular, for the newcomers had to be taken round the usual sights such as Westminster Abbey, the Tower and the British Museum, while old hands preferred the latest arrival, such as shows of wild beasts, curiosities and exhibitions. Glenorchy enjoyed ridottos and masquerades, going to Vauxhall usually by boat down the Thames, as well as Marylebone Gardens with the grotto, and breakfast supplied. There were also other gardens at Islington, where the well was, and Cuper's gardens too.

Cosmo George, escorted by his tutor in 1737, also saw the sights, as specified in table 105. As well as the obvious tourist draws, he went to various shows and oddities. Animals were popular, for he paid to see a white bear, a strange bull, an elephant and an ostrich, unspecified wild beasts, as well as freaks like a strange boy and a tall woman. He and Charles were also taken to a prizefight and given money to throw to the fighters, and to the waxworks.

In the summer, trips out of London were popular. Glenorchy made frequent jaunts out of town to visit friends, see houses or take the water. Many of the peers of his acquaintance had country houses as well as a London residence - Argyll at Sudbrooke, Ilay at Whitton, Kent at Wrest, Newcastle at Claremont, Portland at Bulstrode, Chetwynd at Hillington, Walpole at Houghton, North at Wimbledon and Cholmondeley at an unspecified house. Glenorchy visited all of these for a night or nights. He also visited various members of the royal family at Windsor, Hampton Court, Kensington, Cliveden and Gunnersbury. As a sightseer, he visited Chandos's house at Canons, Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill and Lord

Radnor's house at Twickenham. In the winter, he remained in town; once during the very hard winter of 1740 the Thames froze, and Glenorchy ventured on to the ice, buying some trifles from one of the booths set up while the ice lasted.

Cosmo George went out of town too, visiting Portsmouth once, and often taking shorter trips around London to see the countryside. Among the people he visited were Peterborough at his house near Southampton, Colonel Mordaunt's country house, Lord Burleigh's house, Blenheim, Chiswick, Claremont and Canons, as well as the royal palaces at Hampton Court, Windsor and Kensington. Gardens were also popular, for he went to see those at Chelsea, Parsons Green, Richmond and Barn Elms.

On the whole, the Scots peers do not go in much for gambling, except for small sums. Glenorchy hardly mentions gambling at all - only the occasional purchase of lottery tickets - and cards are never mentioned in his accounts. Cosmo George in youth was an exception to this sober conduct, for his accounts of 1736 show a distinct tendency to throw money around, dining out at vast expense and gambling as well, as his mother's relations reported anxiously to Lord Aberdeen. His total disbursements during the seven months, July 1737 to January 1738 inclusive, amount to £780, and of this sum, £269 was spent in London as specified in table 105.[21] The rest of the money went on clothes, books, weapons, saddlery, furniture and prints. However, apart from one disastrous evening when he lost £141 at faro, the sums were quite small. Apart from faro, the duke mentions quadrille, commerce, proverb and fortune cards, backgammon, billiards and shuttlecock. He also wagered small sums or a few bottles of wine with members of his family or entourage. From his

accounts it seems that he always lost, but maybe he forgot to enter his winnings on the credit side, though he does mention that he won £40 in a lottery. He also bought raffle tickets. Even the careful Lady Findlater once took tickets for two raffles - one for a house in Grosvenor Square and the other for some china - and won the latter.

Like his son, Alexander, duke of Gordon, was a keen cardplayer, though he only staked small sums. He lost money at both cards and billiards. The most he ever lost in London was £7 3s during his visit of five weeks in 1726. He also bought lottery and raffle tickets, but does not record that he ever won anything.

Horses, carriages and racing were other ways of spending time and money. Glenorchy in his youth expended a lot of money on horses. He went to the races at Newmarket and Ipswich, and in 1733 spent over £200 on horses, including £73 10s for a gray mare bought from Lord Portmore. Most of the others were geldings, probably for his coach. He kept his horses at livery at Hyde Park Corner. Once he bought a horse abroad, paying £11 to transport a mare from Altona in 1735. In the same year he purchased a double post chaise at Calais. Similarly, the Earl of Cassillis once had horses sent from Cyprus.

Cosmo George's horses were usually bought in Scotland, though he occasionally bought them in England. However, his saddlery and vehicles were usually bought in London, and were very expensive. In 1739, he bought a chariot from Robert Maberley who described it as 'a genteel new machine chariot body with carriage and wheels made of best seasoned timber, with walnuttree panels to the body, the roof and panels with the lights arched in the newest manner, the mouldings, ogees and

anticks and bottom heads all neatly carved with the carriage carved, and a strong iron work suitable to the same, and a pair of outside jointed steps'.[22] The body of the chariot was coloured a 'pleasant olive', the wheels were vermilion, and the duke's arms were painted on the ends and doors. The total cost was £62 14s. William Beech, coachmaker, was patronised from 1748, and in that year carried out various repairs to the duke's vehicles, including repainting the current chaise yellow with all the insignia proclaiming that Cosmo George held the Order of the Thistle. In 1751, Beech made the duke a new coach, described as 'a genteel new coach', with the carriage in the Salisbury manner, painted yellow with vermilion wheels. This one cost £107 12s.

Saddlery was always bought from Henry Godde, 1737-52. His bills during this period amount to £545 compared to the coachmakers' accounts at £527.

As the London house did not have a suitable mews, the chariot had to be kept at a coachmaker's at the Haymarket, at 1s 6d a week. The horses were either stabled in London or put out to grass at Hatfield, Hampton Court and Enfield. The only horses mentioned individually are Essex, the brown horse, and the two shelties for the boys.

Carriages and horses were usually hired while in London. They came from John Mould, stablekeeper. They were usually hired for November to July, and cost 9 guineas a month for a coach, coachman and pair of horses. Katherine had a sedan chair, and extra vehicles and animals were hired as required by the day. Mould's bills for the period 1746-51 amount to £373. Other hirers were also employed, but on a much smaller scale.

Instruction does not seem to have been popular among the Scottish peers. Glenorchy was too old to want it, except for a series of lectures on experimental philosophy, but Cosmo George was young, and probably had it forced upon him. On his visit of 1734-5, he was accompanied by a tutor, and had lessons in riding, dancing, fencing, French and Latin. He was also taken round various places of interest in London. In 1736, when he was next in London, but without a tutor, there is little to indicate that he was eagerly seeking instruction. His only lessons this time are in drawing from Bernard Lens.[23] He did visit Major Foubert, his father's friend, the riding instructor, but did not pay for any tuition on this occasion. Alexander, even though middle aged in 1720-1, was not, he felt, too old to learn, for he had lessons when in London in dancing and Italian.

As usual there is less evidence for female pursuits, but Lady Frances Douglas listed her occupations when staying at Petersham in 1786-9: drawing in watercolours, netting purses, making paper boxes, cribbage, pope joan, dancing, riding and gardening.[24] These occupations are probably very similar to those pursued by the female Gordons, Findlaters and Breadalbanes, and could be enjoyed in Scotland as well as England. In London itself there was less time for pursuits, when there were plays, assemblies, ridottos and other entertainments available. Katherine certainly bought a crewel frame as well as materials for embroidery when in London, from Edward Vaughan, at the Old Royal Point in Cornhill. Her purchases there included worsted in various colours, and also the material with the design already drawn for her to sew. She intended to embroider 12 chair seats and a matching settee, in worsted and Naples

sleeve silk, but there is no record of whether she finished this task or not. Lady Diana Scott similarly employed some of her leisure at her tambour frame.

Those of the Scottish peers who went to church at home also went in London, though the denomination varied. The Findlaters patronised both the Church of England and a dissenting chapel; Cosmo George went to the Established church, St George's chapel, and his father to the Catholic chapel, while Glenorchy when in London only mentions church-going in his accounts once a year, at Easter, when he notes the present of a guinea to the rector of the parish as his Easter offering.

The amount of money distributed in charity varied enormously. Alexander, second duke of Gordon, was very kind hearted to those in distress, especially to anyone with the slightest claim to be a Gordon. The following table (106) shows the money he distributed among the poor on his London visits.[25] Apart from Gordons, old servants and unknown gentlemen are among those assisted with money. Once he gave a poor gentleman in great need 10 guineas, and a man called Powell, ill of some unspecified disease, is regularly assisted on every visit to London. Alexander has a very graphic turn of phrase, and the 'poor body in distress' who is given 3 guineas, as well as 'my little chimney sweep' rewarded with sixpence, are among those helped. He also helps those in difficulties of their own making, such as Irwin in prison for debt, or Sir James and Lady Kennedy when in want. Strangers are also helped on their way, such as the poor Turk at Hatfield who is given relief as well as his fare to London.

Other Scottish peers also distributed charity, but not on the same

scale. Glenorchy once notes a payment to a tradesman in prison for debt, but also records that he expected the man to work off the money by making him a wig. However, he did make a yearly payment to St George's hospital in London of 5 guineas. Cosmo George had been well brought up to relieve the poor, though the payment of 5s or half a guinea to singing girls might be better classed as entertainment. A gentleman in distress given 5 guineas recalls Alexander; and John Hamilton, the secretary, though obviously not in need, was once presented with 2 guineas 'that he may go to the plays as often as he pleases'.

A good deal of time in London was spent in shopping, both for immediate consumption and to take home. Clothes and household goods were the main purchases, and these are dealt with later in this chapter. Books were also bought by most Scottish peers. The Findlaters bought so many each year for Cullen, sending them off by sea. On the whole, they were an improving lot, only cheered by the occasional novel. In 1737, the books were three law, two religion, three philosophy, two politics, one economics, one history, one classics and two novels. One of the novels was Pamela and the other by Bandillo in Italian. The purchases of 1740 were one astronomy, one medical, one political, one art, one law, one history, two philosophy, one gardening and one verse. Alexander's purchases, 1724-5, were three verse, two classics, two history, one philosophy, three almanacs and two unspecified.

Cosmo George was an avid purchaser of books from London dealers, and spent a lot of money. Most of the books went to Gordon Castle, and are discussed in the section on the library there, and the others are included in the section on the London house. This is the total spent, and

how it was distributed among the various shops, £341 11s 3d, spent over 17 years: John Walthoe[26] £8 5s, William Shropshire[27] £2 14s, Paul Vaillant[28] £4 5s, John Brindley[29] £32 1s 6d, Robert Dodsley[30] £25 18s 3d, Andrew Miller[31] £207 7s, John Miller[32] £1 19s, John Welsh[33] £51, and other suppliers of books though probably not booksellers, B. Wilkes[34] £1 15s 6d, Thomas Cooke[35] £5 5s, and Charles Bisset[36] 11s.

Cosmo George also bought newspapers, the regular purchases being the Evening Post, the Daily Advertiser and the Amsterdam Gazette. He also bought political pamphlets and odd speeches and addresses.

These amusements occupied the Scots nobility while in health, but they also came to London to consult the most fashionable doctors, and to take the water at various spas. This combined business and pleasure, for at places like Bath and Tunbridge Wells there were plenty of diversions to fill in the time not spent at the cold bath or pump room.

The Findlaters went assiduously to such places. In 1742 it was Cheltenham, when Lady Findlater was having trouble with her digestion.[37] Her medicines, prescribed by William Smellie in London, mention stomatic bitters made from various plants, including the roots of valerian, gentian and Virginian snake, and the berries of juniper and bay, as well as wild carrot seed, sassafras wood, rhubarb and electuaries made from rosemary and orange juice. Steel is also prescribed either as a tincture or made into wine.[38] In the winter of that year, the Findlaters spent nearly two months at Bath.[39] Lady Findlater calculated the whole expense including the journey back to London at £128. The party consisted of Lord and Lady Findlater, Lord Deskford, Lady Mary Grant and four or five servants. For the first fortnight the party lived in furnished lodgings

and supplied their own food, sending it out to be cooked. After this they moved to another lodging where the rate included food because Lady Findlater calculated that this would be cheaper. Glass and china were hired. Table 107 shows the provisions bought during the first two weeks while Lady Findlater was doing the catering.

Both the Findlaters joined various clubs, and paid for subscriptions to balls, a bookseller, coffeehouse, breakfasts with music, concerts and a special ball on the king's birthday. As they were ostensibly at Bath for Lady Findlater's health, she attended the pump room and drank the water.

On a later visit to London, Lord Findlater was ill, and attended by Dr Wilmot[40] in 1742-3. He charged 2 guineas for the first visit and a guinea for each subsequent one, except the last which was 3 guineas, the total amounting to £23 2s. William Smellie[41] was called in to bleed Lord Findlater, and supplied some of the drugs. These included dried vipers bought from Carter. When Lord Findlater was recovered, they moved out to Kensington, where he drank asses' milk. In 1759, both the Findlaters are buying medicines and Lady Findlater took the precaution of filling the drug chest before returning to Cullen. The supplies mentioned are rhubarb, sal volatile, hartshorn, spermaceti, ipecacuanha, saffron, senna, Spanish liquorice, vitriol, laudanum and castor oil.

Lord Glenorchy lived to a good age, like his father and grandfather, but he took care of himself and visited a variety of practitioners. He was often bled and consulted doctors including Hunter[42] and Duncan.[43] In 1758 there was an outbreak of smallpox, and his son caught the disease from a servant. The boy was attended by an apothecary called Graham, and went to convalesce at Kensington. The servant was less

fortunate, for he was sent to the smallpox hospital and died. Another servant, in spite of being inoculated, also died, and they were both buried at Breadalbane's expense. Breadalbane himself escaped, but was sufficiently disturbed to leave his rented house and move into uncontaminated lodgings.

He did have trouble with various parts of his anatomy, and went to corncutters, dentists, opticians and apothecaries in search of relief. He was frequently in the hands of the dentist, whom he called a tooth operator, spelling his name as Lodomie and Laudomie. He usually charged a guinea at a time, and extra for toothpowder and brushes. Breadalbane was interested enough to buy a double looking glass so that he could inspect his teeth for himself. Other medicaments purchased included lozenges for heartburn, and his old age is foreshadowed by the purchase of spectacles in 1753 and a speaking trumpet in 1772. He too drank asses' milk, bought balsam of honey, pectoral lozenges and a pot of balsam for his corns between visits to the corncutter.

Breadalbane also paid for medicines and doctors for his servants. These included 6 guineas to a doctor for curing his cook of a fistula in 1737. His second wife had a long series of miscarriages or shortlived children, and was attended by Dr Brett, who charged 25 guineas for attendance, and extra for medicine. At Bath and Bristol, Breadalbane consulted the local doctors. One such trip to Bath in 1759 when he had sprained his ankle, resulted in visits to the play, two coffeehouses, tea in the great room, concerts, balls, music in the pumproom, and various dinners. This was in January, and in April of that year he moved to Bristol Hot Well, where he stayed for a month, visiting the coffeeroom, a grotto and the chapel.

In the summer of 1750, Cosmo George and Katherine along with Brodie the Lyon made an expedition to Scarborough for six weeks. They were attended by Katherine's woman, two footmen and the postilion. They took lodgings, but ate dinner at a tavern. These are some of the menus: two wild duck dressed with gravy sauce, whitings broiled with melted butter, bread and beer; a dish of fish, two broiled chickens, a plate of cheese, bread and beer; whitings broiled with butter, two dressed moorcocks, herrings and beer; whitings, roast shoulder of mutton, potatoes, kidney beans, bread and beer; and roast turkey, bread, beer and wine. They lodged for three weeks with one landlady at £2 10s the week, and the rest of the time, nearly four weeks, with another at £1 16s. There were extras added to the bills, for linen, washing, tea, water and breakfast in one house, and fires, water, milk and provisions extra in the other. They travelled by chaise, drawn by four horses, accompanied by the two footmen on saddle horses. All the horses were boarded with the tavern keeper. Bread, eggs, tea, sugar, rolls, butter were bought separately. The servants were kept on board wages, Mrs Panton, Katherine's woman, at 2s the day, and the other three at 1s 6d. While in Scarborough, Katherine bought four damask tablecloths and some Irish stuff described as plaided. Apart from attending Mr Brown's long room and the race course there is no information how the party passed its time. The washing was done by two washerwomen, and the accounts are interesting for they are the only ones showing Katherine's washing, which was usually done at home. From the bills, she had between three and six clean shifts a week, two-five aprons, three-four caps, four-fourteen handkerchiefs, and four pairs of stockings.

Incidentals included ruffles, nightcaps, petticoats and once a sack.

When in London, Cosmo George's medicines always came from Andrew Mitchell, apothecary in Pall Mall, where the duke lodged on occasion. Mitchell was patronised over a long period, from 1741 to the duke's death, and made up medicines for all the family, servants, visitors, and, once at least, the dog. His accounts survive in two very long bills, 1741-9 and 1749-52, totalling respectively £154 6s 2d and £253 2s 11d. Mitchell usually states the recipient who is to take the medicine, and the next table (108) shows who was treated at the duke's expense.[44] Some of these people were only treated occasionally, and then dismissed with a vomit, purges, embrocation or an ointment, but others get more intensive treatment with daily visits from Mitchell and a daily dose too.

The following tables show the medicines received by members of the household. The duke (table 109) takes more medicine than anyone else, though Andrew Innes runs him a close second. All the medicines seem rather similar, so either Mitchell was a man of few ideas, or all the household suffered from digestive troubles. Some of the doses sound soothing - the juleps, cordials and flower waters - but most of them are less attractive: there is an abundance of vomits, emetic potions and electuaries, as well as purges, bitter draughts, rhubarb, and exotics such as dried Egyptian vipers and goldbeater's skin (which was a membrane used for covering wounds), and the inevitable leeches, and tonics such as nervine pills and elixirs.

Katherine must have been much healthier - she did survive Cosmo George by many years - for she took far fewer medicines, and these appear mainly after childbirth. They appear in table 110. Syrup of white

poppies, rosewater, eyebright and pennyroyal water and peppermint water sound sedative, though a hysteric bolus sounds less so. Mitchell also supplied her with cosmetics occasionally - a lotion and an unspecified pomatum. Collyrium might be either an eye salve or a suppository, and crab's eyes come in fact from the stomach of crayfish and were used as an antacid or absorbant. Kermes, cerms, or alkermes are all names for a red dye got from an insect or red antimony.

The children are dosed very frequently from birth. Alexander and William usually appear in the accounts together as the young lords, and seem to take their medicine simultaneously. When at Harrow, Mitchell goes out to see them there and prescribe for them. The other children appear individually, and the next tables (111 and 112) show the medicines taken by Kettie, Ann and George. Susan hardly appears in the accounts at all. Kettie was born on 22 December 1750, and two days later she was being dosed with opening powders, and the following day with bottles of blackberry, rose and rue water. Similarly George was prescribed rose, fennel and rue waters at an equally tender age. When teething, Kettie was given a necklace to chew. Ann's medicines are much the same, but include black cherry and mint waters as well as rose.

The servants were included in the bills and with the same medicines. Andrew Innes, the duke's personal footman, who eventually retired because of his ill health, has the most impressive collection of medicaments, with bleedings, purges, vomits and electuaries in profusion as given in table 113. William Forbes, the cook, also had trouble with his stomach, and so did the laundrymaid, whose bills contain a variety of vomits, purges, opening potions and boluses.

Apart from these bills of Mitchell's, there are not many accounts for medicines. When Ann was born in 1748, the surgeon attending Katherine was Francis Mitchell, who was paid 15 guineas on this occasion, and then £21 on George's birth in 1751. The only other apothecaries' accounts are of Carter and Griffiths, who called themselves chemists and druggists, next door to the French playhouse in the Haymarket, and William Gillett and Giles Powell, apothecaries.

As well as medicines, Cosmo George, like Glenorchy and Findlater, drank asses' milk. It always came from John Jones at Knightsbridge, whose bills advertise him as 'ass man to His Majesty'. Cosmo George drank it from 1749, and it cost 4½d the quartern. It does not appear again till 1751-2, and then the supply is for the children, especially Kettie, who was delicate.

The purchase of clothes and accessories was one of the main reasons for visiting London. Much of the shopping done there was for clothes, and for grand occasions a London outfit was essential. Clothes were bought for the whole family, servants, relatives and neighbours. Anyone going to London could be sure that a list of commissions would be pressed upon him. In an age when fit was not of great importance, clothes were bought for others quite easily, and they could always be altered or exchanged later if they would not do.

Clothes accounted for a large proportion of the money spent by the Scots aristocracy in London. Sophia Hope, second wife of James, fifth earl of Findlater, was an economical and careful housewife, and her accounts are a pleasure to read. She kept notes of what they spent on their London visits, from which it can be worked out that during the years

1735-43, the fraction of the total sum disbursed spent on clothes varied between a third and a seventh. And when the other expenses included the journey, rent, food, chariot and horses, wages and tips, a third is a very large proportion. This sum was spent in 1735, the year Lady Findlater's stepdaughter married Sir Ludovic Grant, when clothes for the bride and the rest of the family had to be bought.

Cosmo George was not as methodical, though he kept all his bills.[45] He patronised one tailor only in London, a man called Ellis Rackett, later joined by Thomas Rackett, his son, and his bills give the totals for tailoring, detailed in table 114, amounting in all to £1,318 in 15 years. This is what was spent on tailoring and some of the material only, for the duke often bought the cloth elsewhere, leaving the tailor to provide lining and haberdashery. These accounts are mainly for his own clothes, though livery for the servants and his two elder boys are also included.

The next table, 115, show what the duke actually bought from Rackett. His own purchases included up to four suits a year, sometimes of material sold by Rackett or sometimes bought elsewhere. Among the clothiers patronised was Galfridus Mann, the brother of Horace Walpole's correspondent. Mann was also employed by Glenorchy.

Taking these categories in detail, and beginning with the suits, there are a good many fairly ordinary ones, and a few really elaborate efforts. One of the latter is the suit made for the king's birthday in 1737, which was of scarlet cloth, laced with gold, with a white satin waistcoat, overlaid with a gold shape, with gold wire coat and waistcoat buttons, costing in all, including the cloth, £10 7s 3d. Another suit of 1740 had flowered silk breeches, and the coat was laced with gold, again with

gold wire buttons. This time the price was £22 2s 1d, and this does not include the cloth for coat and waistcoat. A more elaborate suit, made in 1742, had an embroidered waistcoat costing 12 guineas alone. The coat was laced in silver, with additional broad silver lace along the seams, and silver wire buttons. This brought the cost up to £43. In 1752, Rackett made a silk figured suit at £20. The most expensive one he made for the duke was of blue Genoa velvet at 25s the yard, the coat gold laced, and overlaid with a gold point d'Espagne shape costing £21, and an embroidered waistcoat. This was made in 1745 and amounted in all to £56 9s 6½d.

As well as the complete suit of coat, waistcoat and breeches, the items could be bought in pairs or singly; waistcoat and coat, coat and breeches, coat alone, waistcoat and breeches, frock and waistcoat, and frock and breeches all appear in Rackett's accounts.

Waistcoats are often of red cloth with gold lace, but they are also made in silk or fine materials, and range from embroidered ones costing 12 guineas, to simple ones of gingham or dimity. As well as cloth, the tailor needed lining for the body and stiffening for the skirts, lace for the seams and gold wire buttons. Embroidered waistcoats were also bought elsewhere from a specialist. Cosmo George bought two in 1749 from Sarah Mars, one of white satin with bugles costing 5 guineas, and the other white embroidered in silver, gold and silk at 12 guineas.[46] Another one at 10 guineas was of blue silk embroidered with gold.

Accounts for making breeches do not vary much. They were usually scarlet or black knit material, or velvet.

Coats were often made along with the breeches, to be worn with a

waistcoat already made. Articles specified include a grey barragon coat and breeches, blue coat and scarlet breeches, and barragon coat and black breeches. Alternatively, coat and waistcoat could be bought together, as a blue coat and Hungarian waistcoat, barragon coat and scarlet silk waistcoat, or Wilton stuff coat and scarlet knit waistcoat. Coats and frocks were also made alone, and were made of very similar materials, the only difference being in the collar. Greatcoats were not often purchased, the two specified being of drab and fine duffle, both with collars and capes of velvet, and the duffle one with horn buttons.

Miscellaneous items made by Rackett include banyans[47] and capuchins[48] which are not specified fully. The banyan made in 1742 took 8 yards scarlet serge du soy and 22 scarlet buttons.

Lord Glenorchy was buying very similar clothes at the same time. His choice of colours is equally cheerful. Some of his outfits are specified, including a blue cloth coat and scarlet breeches enlivened with silver lace, a light coloured coat and scarlet waistcoat, as well as other waistcoats in rose satin, green and gold, and blue tabby. Table 118 shows the clothes he bought in London, 1744-53. He patronised a variety of tailors but usually John Dorrell, who often supplied the cloth, but not the lace, which Glenorchy bought from William Basnett and Company, who also sold stars for the various orders. Cosmo George bought 34 stars from them for his Order of the Thistle, costing a guinea each. He also bought 'Scotch stars' from Edward Wildgoose at £1 each. Glenorchy employed Ellis Rachett too. One of his accounts mentions a coat and waistcoat made in 1750, a dark colour forest cloth coat and Saxon green waist-

coat, with gilt buttons, and this was not a success, for Rackett had to redo the buttonholes and reline the coat. Other garments purchased by Lord Glenorchy included a suit of brown cloth with gold loops, and a silk embroidered waistcoat, costing £27 6s in 1733, a greatcoat of a coarse stuff called rug, in 1735, a cinnamon velvet coat and breeches in 1736, a gold brocade waistcoat costing a record 17 guineas, in 1736, and an oddity, an oilskin greatcoat in a leather case, at £2 19s in 1743.

Lord Findlater in comparison, was either permanently in mourning, or just liked a sombre colour scheme. He was not much of a purchaser of clothes, his yearly purchases in London being limited to one suit, one or two pairs of stockings, a pair of shoes and a hat. Table 117 shows these purchases. Lady Findlater, who lists them in her London accounts, does not often give details. The suits and breeches are often black, the greatcoats drab and the stockings black. The only touch of colour is a pair of red slippers.

George, third earl of Aberdeen, a contemporary of Cosmo George, also patronised Rackett when in London. A bill of 1747 mentions a coat laced with gold, a drab frock and a pandour[49] cloak. This last item is unusual, and was made from 5 yards superfine drab, 2 yards scarlet cloth, with velvet capes and collar, and 59 gilt buttons. The frock is unusual too, for the lapels, cuffs and collar are all faced with fur. Similarly, Charles, earl of Aboyne, bought clothes from Rackett, though they do not sound as out of the ordinary as Lord Aberdeen's. Aboyne's clothes from Thomas Rackett in 1753-4 included a suit with silver buttonholes and silver wire buttons, and another suit described as half trimmed, with a velvet fall down collar, which cost in all including the material £6 16s 2d.

Aboyne also bought clothes from George Stewart, but they sound equally dull; the articles included a thickset coat and breeches, nankeen waistcoats, a flannel nightgown, and livery for the servants in the Gordon colours of blue and yellow.

Changes in fashion are not clearly indicated in these accounts. The waistcoat should be getting shorter while the coat cuffs extend. These changes, however, do not seem to affect the amount of material used. The variations which do appear are the result of differing widths of fabric. Breeches, for example, used only five-eighths of a yard of cloth, or 2 yards of velvet, 2-2½ yards everlasting or an unspecified piece of silk knit. They always fastened with two waistband buttons. Frocks used 2½ yards of cloth, though 2 yards and five-eighths also appear. The buttons also vary, between one and two dozen. Waistcoats usually need 1-1¼ yards of cloth or duffle, 2½-3¼ yards satin, 3¼ yards silk, 2¾ yards tabby double alapine, and 2 yards flannel and serge du soy. The buttons vary between 14 big ones and 52 small. A laced waistcoat took 6-6½ yards lace.

Coats needed 2½-2¾ yards cloth, or 7 yards barragon, 8½ figured stuff, and 9 yards of cotton velvet, and between 15 and 52 buttons. A laced coat used 11¾-41½ yards lace, depending on whether it was laced all over or just along the seams. Coats and breeches of the same material used 3¾-3½ yards cloth, 5½ yards linsey, 6½ yards barragon, 9 yards cotton velvet and 10 yards velvet or silk. Greatcoats needed 3 yards duffle, 3¼-3$\frac{5}{8}$ yards drab, 5½ yards kersey, along with 2-3 dozen buttons and 1-6 breast buttons.

In addition to what Cosmo George spent on cloth and tailoring,

there are accounts for accessories. The next table (118) gives the numbers of hats, wigs, stockings, shoes and boots, gloves and linen, bought in London.

Taking these items as listed, hats came from several shops, usually Robert Oliphant, Melchoir Wagner and Jacob Wild. The hat itself cost 18-21s, with gold lace and/or button and loop costing another pound for the lace and 2s 6d for button and loop. Beaver hats were more expensive at 21s-24s. Crape hatbands were supplied as required at 2s 6d each. Hatters were also prepared to repair, line or recock hats at 1s a time.

Wigs were bag, bob or cue. They came from James Cobb, Matthew Brisbane or Edward Elliston, and varied in price between 25s and 31s 6d. James Cobb was a little more expensive than the other two. As well as the wig itself, Cosmo George bought incidentals - a bag for a bagwig, ribbons for a cue, roses for Spencers and Albemarles, and pomatum or powder for the lot. He bought several wigs a year, between one and seven. He also paid for the wigs to be dressed at 2s 6d a week, and 1s for shaving. The barber also cut the boys' hair.

Stockings were almost always bought from William Davy and Company. The duke did not buy many pairs of silk stockings, but they were very expensive. Superfine white silk hose cost 18s, and so did Italian silk gauze rolling hose, while pearl coloured silk were 16s and fine silk ribbed were 6s. Thread and worsted were cheaper than silk: fine thread at 5s or 5s 6d, and gauze worsted at 2s 6d.

Shoes and boots were always bought from John Hume, who later took David Hendrie as a partner. Pumps cost 8s a pair for single and 10s 6d for double channelled; boots varied between 27s and 31s 6d. When

patronised on a large enough scale, shoemakers were prepared to be obliging, for when in 1740 the duke lost a slipper, Hume made a matching one at 4s. Strong shoes also cost 10s 6d. The record was in 1742, when Cosmo George bought nine pairs of pumps, three pairs of unspecified shoes and one pair of boots. This total is equalled by Lord Glenorchy in 1744, when he purchased 12 pairs of shoes and one pair of boots. Poor Lord Findlater was only allowed one or at the most two pairs of shoes; he does not seem to have worn boots, or at least did not purchase them in London.

Gloves came from different glovers, including Peter Lequainter and Charles Cheriton. There are not many accounts, and none after 1747. Cotton gloves from John Pugh in 1740 cost 4s 6d, black thread 3s 6d, fine ribbed the same and superfine thread 8s 6d. Cheriton was cheaper, for he only charged 2s 6d for kid or black glazed, and 5s 6d for black looped.

Cosmo George did not buy much linen in London. Various linendrapers were patronised, but their accounts do not usually specify the garment for which the lawn, cambric, cotton or calico was intended. The firm most often dealt with was Robert and Matthew Huntley, linendrapers near the market in Leadenhall Street, who were careful to point out in their trade card that no discount was to be expected, for 'that all customers may be serv'd alike, they set the lowest price on the outside of all the goods, and make no abatement'.[50] The duke bought handkerchiefs in quantity from this firm: printed lawn at 2s 1d, cambric at 2s 10d, and silk at 3s 9d, as well as cambric by the yard and gingham in remnants. Holland for shirts cost from 6s 3d to 9s the ell, and cambric for stocks between 9s 6d and 12s the yard.

The materials were usually made up by Elizabeth Ogilvie, who some-

times also supplied the fabric. In 1740, she made the duke six shirts of holland and six cambric stocks, marked with coronets, as well as handkerchiefs, also marked with a coronet, and recollared shirts. The shirts seem to have only three buttons each. Ruffles were made of Silesia lawn; making and materials for four pairs cost £3 10s in 1749. From the table of linen, most of the duke's must have been made in Edinburgh or Gordon Castle, and there is the usual lack of drawers.

Glenorchy's linen bought in London is also incomplete. Once he paid for making 16 shirts at 4s each, with extra for buttons and marking. Cambric for cuffs cost 16s the yard in 1746, and fine gulix holland for shirts was 8s the ell. His nightcaps were of dimity.

There are also a few accounts for accessories bought by Lord Aboyne, but there is nothing out of the ordinary. He too bought hats from Melchoir Wagner at 18s, and one hat described as 'for under the arm' costing only 7s, shoes and pumps at 8s, and pumps at 10s 6d and buckskin breeches at 30s.

The previous pages have dealt with the clothes Cosmo George bought for himself; he also bought (or at least paid for) clothes for his wife, children, servants and relations.

Servants needed expensive clothes, not for their own benefit but as livery to enhance the importance of their master. All the aristocracy dressed their servants in their livery colours: the Gordon colours were yellow and blue, the Breadalbanes favoured black or grey and yellow, and the Findlaters blue and red.

The Gordon servants were equipped like the others. The footmen had livery suits, frocks and greatcoats, the coachman had a suit and box coat,

the postilion a jacket and breeches, and the boys livery suits and breeches. Some of the servants also had frocks. These were the permanent servants, but temporary ones hired for the London season were often equipped too. Cosmo George's two chairmen had livery suits, and his waterman was issued with a jacket, waistcoat and breeches.

Table 119 shows the clothes bought for the permanent servants, 1738-52, at least what was made for them in London. Livery suits were bought most years, as were frocks and coats. The tailor was also employed to mend clothes. Even servants' livery was expensive: two suits of livery made in 1751 cost £9 11s, including the cloth. They needed $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth for the coats, 3 yards of the same for waistcoats and 5 yards shag for beeches. The coats had velvet capes. A coach boxcoat for the coachman needed $4\frac{1}{4}$ yards blue drab, 20 coat buttons and four breast buttons. Russia drab frocks were supplied ready made at 13s for men and 12s for boys. The stuff could also be bought at 1s the yard. The postilion's jacket used $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards of yellow cloth and five-eighths of a yard blue cloth for cuffs and lapels, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ dozen gilt breast buttons. Livery waistcoats were made of $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth with 33 breast buttons.

These garments cost Cosmo George a lot of money, but more economical employers could cut the cost. Lord Glenorchy records that he gave his coachman 5s in 1753 for wearing his own leather breeches the previous winter. Similarly his postilion got 5s for wearing his own velvet cap in 1755. In 1757, the clothes provided for the stable boy comprised leather breeches, boots and an old greatcoat bought from a footman. Sometimes clothes were not even provided: the huntsman employed in 1760 was given a guinea for wearing his own clothes, and in the same year the groom

received 2 guineas for wearing his livery coat and waistcoat for a second year, 'they being very clean', and 7s 6d for wearing his still presentable hat for another season. Glenorchy's footmen too were given 10s each in 1751 for wearing their own boots. As Cosmo George paid £1 for a pair of servant's boots, this was a 100 per cent saving. Sometimes Glenorchy was unable to economise, as in 1747 when he sent his kitchen boy off to learn how to cook, and provided an outfit consisting of a greatcoat at 18s, a pair of boots at 17s, a cloakbag at 19s and a pair of shoes at 10s, with 3 guineas to the boy himself. On one occasion in 1734, Glenorchy compounded for a lump sum for clothes for his coachman - £1 10s for leather breeches, boots, shoes and stockings for the year. He also bought boots secondhand for his servants: in 1737 such a pair cost 6s 6d.

Similarly, the Findlater servants were outfitted as cheaply as Lady Findlater could manage. A suit of livery cost her 28s in 1759, and she noted crossly on the bill that the price had risen since the last suits were ordered. Livery suits were made by a tailor called Dunlop in 1739, when Lady Findlater supplied the cloth. On this account she noted that the price of shoulder knots has risen from 2s or 2s 6d to 3s 6d. Like the other servants, the Findlater ones wore chamois breeches. Lady Findlater, being dissatisfied with the quality, bought another pair in 1740, and extracted a promise from the maker that they would last at least three years, and that he would replace them if they didn't; at the same time, he washed and mended another pair, with the guarantee that this pair would last for another two years, or he would mend them for nothing. Livery clothes were also cleaned; a suit cost 1s 6d and a big coat 2s in 1741.

Making a suit of liveries, including the scarlet and blue cloth, cost

30s a suit. Three suits took $8\frac{1}{4}$ yards of blue and $6\frac{3}{4}$ yards scarlet. The Findlater tailor succeeded in getting four pairs of breeches out of $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth. A blue drab coat for the coachman used 4 yards, with a quarter-yard of scarlet serge for the collar. A frock used 4 yards of Russia drab.

Like Lord Glenorchy, Lady Findlater was not above buying second-hand clothes for the servants. In 1742, she bought a pair of secondhand plush breeches at 7s 6d and a pair of secondhand boots at 6s.

The next table (120) shows the livery clothes bought by the Findlaters in London, 1735-42. From this, the servants were not equipped on the same scale as the Gordon or Breadalbane retinues. Possibly some of the clothes were bought elsewhere, for they must have had boots and stockings, and probably greatcoats.

There are not many accounts for the children's clothes. At Cosmo George's death, they were all still very young, all six under 10. But the two elder boys were dressed by the same tailor, Ellis Rackett; their clothes are detailed in table 121. The first entry in Rackett's accounts is a scarlet duffle coat made for Alexander when he was two. From 1748, both boys had a number of suits made for them, up to five each in 1750. The clothes were expensive, though the materials used were cheaper than those used for the duke's own clothes.

An account for a suit for Alexander at the age of four, mentions a scarlet laced coat and breeches, with silver wire buttons. From about 1748, the two elder boys were usually dressed alike. When Rackett made a fustian suit for one, he made a matching one for the other. In an account for the two suits made in 1748, Rackett used figured everlasting for coats and breeches, and marble grosgrain for the waistcoats. By 1752, the

clothes were more expensive, for the suits took more material. In that year Rackett made them suits with full laced waistcoats and silver on wood buttons.

Most of the boys' other expenses were paid for them by James Benet. They had silk jockey caps in 1750 at 4s 6d and then again a year later at 8s.

There are very few accounts for the girls or George, the baby. Apart from an account for his christening clothes, he does not appear at all, for he was only nine months old when his father died.

The two elder girls, Susan and Anne, appear occasionally. Anne's stays cost 10s 6d or 12s a pair in 1749, with extra for sleeves and leading strings. They both had scarlet calico petticoats, and habits and coats from Oluf Bobery, who made habits for their mother. Their stockings and mitts were of cotton thread, and their shoes of green silk or black leather. In March 1751, when the family was in mourning, the girls were dressed with weepers of Silesia lawn and purple ribbons. A year later they were wearing pink taffeta, pink figured grizette and brown mantua. About the only references to Kettie's clothes is in 1750, when she was wearing dimity robes.

Lord Deskford only accompanied his father and stepmother to London for the three years 1737-9; otherwise he was at home or abroad with his tutor. The next table (122) shows the clothes bought for him in London during these three years. Lady Findlater calculated that his expenses for clothes and pocket money were: 1737 £118, 1738 £38, and 1739 £112. The most elaborate suit made for him was in 1739, of uncut flowered velvet at 22s the yard, with a scarlet and silver waistcoat which cost nearly £10 alone. His waistcoats generally took $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards cloth and 6 yards

gold lace; a frock used $2\frac{1}{4}$ yards cloth, and breeches 2 yards of Genoa velvet. Lady Findlater was not altogether pleased at the way her stepson grew, for she recorded in 1738 that the amount of stuff needed had increased since the previous year.

Lord Glenorchy's shortlived sons appear very little in his accounts. Presumably their mother provided their clothes out of the housekeeping or pinmoney.

Katherine's clothes are not as well documented as Cosmo George's. However, as he was responsible for paying the accounts, they are kept together and docqueted by him. In 1742, she bought material for a very special gown of brocade with a white ground, which cost 22s a yard, and she needed $20\frac{1}{2}$ yards, as well as 32 yards of white persian and 12 yards rich white ducape. A miscellany of accessories bought in 1742 includes a hoop (petti)coat, a large farthingale, a bonnet, a white and gold handkerchief, a pink satin stomacher, several aprons, a capuchin cloak, a nosegay, silver tippet and two fans. Her shoes were white trimmed with gold, white calf with satin heels and leather pumps, and her gloves of white kid. Her stays came from B. Hyatt, like Lady Findlater's, and cost 2 guineas.

She patronised two milliners: Lydia Whittaker and Anne Connor. The first named made Katherine several articles in 1742, including two suits of lace with ruffles and tippet, and a pinner, quoif, ruffles and tucker of cambric.[51] Anne Connor's bill is dated 1751, but owing to her terrible writing it is difficult to interpret. The clearer articles mentioned include dressing caps at 6d a time, a lace stomacher, a lace handkerchief, washing ruffles, washing a laced head 'the best way', a pair of

black lace sleeve knots, and a white brocade handkerchief.[52]

There is only one surviving mantuamaker's account, due to Mrs S. Clerk[53] in 1751-2. The garments mentioned are a black silk gown and coat, a flowered silk sack, full trimmed, a flowered silk nightgown, a jarash(?)[54] shift gown, a fine crape gown, a pink and silver gown and coat, an English damask white gown, a blue and silver gown and a scarlet English damask gown. The total for making all these things, and supplying a few items such as sleeve lining and binding, was £6. The materials used for these clothes came mainly from Carr, Ibbotsons and Bigge. The black silk gown and coat were made of 15 yards armoyzeen at 10s 6d, the flowered silk sack took 18½ yards white and grey flowered paduasouy at 12s, and there is another 18½ yards of grey and white tissue ducape which may have been used for the flowered silk nightgown. The crape gown was of Norwich crape at 3s, and the pink and silver gown took 18 yards rich figured ground, pink and silver, at 12s. Other materials bought in smaller quantities included blue satin, pink taffeta, grey, white and black paduasouy and 3 yards of blue paduasouy.

Katherine's riding habits came from Oluf Bobery. From him, she had a habit, petticoat and waistcoat trimmed with gold, a sack gown and petticoat and an embroidered waistcoat trimmed with gold.

Lady Findlater's accounts are as one would expect, well kept, and show exactly what she bought in London and how much she paid for it. Table 123 gives her purchases, 1735-43.

As her 'manto-makers' were women, the bills are badly kept and sometimes illegible. She usually patronised Jane Dalton. An account of 1740 mentions a flowered silk nightgown, a green damask gown, a flowered

suit, and a brown tabby gown, as well as turning a suit of black silk and new making a suit of yellow silk. Some of the accounts for the materials used survive. The green damask was bought from Matthew Hewett, mercer, at the Wheatsheaf and Star on Ludgate Hill, where $12\frac{3}{4}$ yards were charged at 7s 6d per yard, but as the provident Lady Findlater returned 16 yards of white mantua, for which she was given 4s 9d a yard, the bill was reduced from £4 18s 3d to £1 2s 3d. Her triumph was dimmed however by the realisation that she had not bought enough damask, and when she went back for another $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards the price had risen to 8s a yard.[55] The same mercer was patronised the following year when Lady Findlater bought $19\frac{3}{4}$ yards of rich white brocade for a gown and petticoat.

In the next year, 1742, the Findlaters were in mourning, and Lady Findlater's dress was suitably sober; her new clothes this year were a suit of black velvet, a grey armoyzeen,[56] a black bombazine suit, and a grey stuff gown for her maid. The grey poplin, $17\frac{3}{4}$ yards, and bombazine, 21 yards, came from John Hawkins, and the black velvet was from Lucera, the Italian, at the Orange Tree in Air-Street, Piccadilly, and cost 19s a yard, for 20 yards.

Four years later Jane Dalton was still being employed by Lady Findlater, and in that year she made a yellow suit with turned cloth cuffs and long lawn sleeves, a blue and white suit and a blue gown, and remade a black coat and gown. By 1753, Lady Findlater's dressmaker was Rachael Sloss, who produced the following garments in 1753-4: a scarlet quilted gown, a flowered silk mantua and coat, a grey ducape,[57] a striped lustring, and a blue striped lustring. She remade a flowered

silk and altered a grey stuff gown.

As well as these females, Lady Findlater once patronised a man mantua maker, who made her four mantles, buff, white, black and pink.

From the table it can be seen that Lady Findlater had her clothes altered whenever possible. She also had garments dyed, and her silk stockings too.

Women's clothes took a lot of material, though the fractions of a yard bought by Lady Findlater show that she did not intend to waste it. The amount for a gown varied: 19½ yards flowered silk and 13 yards persian for the petticoat, or 20 yards yellow lustring and 13 yards persian. Quilted petticoats took 12¼ yards long lawn for two, aprons of black or white silk needed 1¼ yards silk and 2 yards ribbon.

Apart from gowns and petticoats, Lady Findlater's regular purchases were stays at 2 guineas a time, a hoop at about 30s, some stockings, several pairs of shoes and some linen.

Her accounts for linen are rather confusing. In 1735, she bought 11 yards of lace for ruffles, tucker and tippet at 24s the yard, which is straightforward enough, but the rest of the account, for two laced lappets and a call, lace for the top of the head and fly, is obscure.[58] This was an unusually expensive year; 1738 is more ordinary, when she bought cambric for a plain head, ruffles and tippet, a Dutch mob and a white fustian cap. By 1756, her caps were being made by H. Selby, who described them as dressed caps with lappets, and round caps. In the same year Lady Findlater bought other articles from Sophia and Agnes Smellome, including a blonde stomacher with flowers, a black gauze hood trimmed with lace and a gauze cap with ribbons.

Underwear appears very little in Lady Findlater's accounts, and was presumably made at home. She sometimes bought quilted petticoats, and in 1741 she ordered six shifts and tuckers.

Lady Findlater's accounts are unusually complete; Lady Glenorchy's are more like Katherine Gordon's. She was not often in London with her husband and he was commissioned to buy her clothes and bring them to Sugnall for her. In 1753, he bought 12 dozen kid gloves, a tippet and stomacher of blonde lace and pink ribbon with sleeve knots, another similar set gold edged, a white and silver wrapper, a quilted coat of green satin, four pairs of stays and some material, white, silver and purple silk, and some persian for lining. He also notes occasional purchases for her in his account book. These include a diamond hook for her stays at £6 10s in 1740, a quilted blue satin petticoat in 1751 at £3 13s 6d, and in the same year a large order for ribbons - paduasoy in yellow, blue, pink, green and purple, taffeta in scarlet, yellow, pink, blue, green and white as well as yellow figured and various combinations of colours. In 1743, Glenorchy bought his wife an oilskin capuchin at 33s, presumably in response to a request for one like his own, bought the previous year.

Jewellery was nearly always bought in London, the Gordons usually patronising John Dingwall. His bills, 1748-52, total £862, out of the £1,400 expended by Cosmo George on jewellery and toys, with a few pieces of silver sold by the jewellers rather than the silversmiths. Cosmo George's purchases from Dingwall for himself were mainly seals, gold heads for canes, snuff boxes, Scots pebbles mounted as rings and buttons and toothpick cases. Purchases for Katherine included an

enormously expensive pair of three drop diamond earrings costing £208. Other jewellery was very much cheaper, consisting of paste necklaces, rose diamond earrings, lockets and rings. Items bought for the children included a coral and bells, silver spoons and silver shoe and knee buckles. Paste and other inexpensive jewellery was also bought from Judith and Thomas Willdey, who traded in St Paul's churchyard. Purchases here included a gold chain at 5 guineas, a pair of straw coloured earrings set in gold, a black necklace and matching earrings, four rows of French beads, and gilt chains and buttons.

Unfortunately no-one has left details of how often any particular garment was worn, but the washing bills in London at least indicate how often linen was changed.

The laundrymaids did the women's and children's washing, but the men's was usually done outside the house. This means that there are bills for Cosmo George's and the male servants' washing, but none for Katherine, the female servants and children.

The following table (124) gives the details of Cosmo George's washing for the months when there are complete bills, December 1738 to October 1739, December 1740 to April 1741, March to April 1742, April to May 1743 and February to March 1752. From this, the monthly average of shirts and stocks is about one a day, with an exception in April 1741, when the total soars to double this figure, so possibly someone else's washing is included. Nightcaps, handkerchiefs and stockings appear regularly each month in varying amounts: handkerchiefs vary between five and 34, and stockings between one and 21. Other items which appear occasionally are drawers, waistcoats and weepers. As a comparison,

table 125 gives Lord Breadalbane's washing during the spring of 1753. Like Cosmo George, he puts on a clean shirt and cravat nearly every day, but most of the other items are washed more often than Cosmo George's: a nightcap nearly every day, between seven and ten pairs of drawers a month and a clean pair of stockings nearly every day, either silk or worsted.

A short account for washing due by Alexander, duke of Gordon, in London, from November 1721 to February 1722 (given in table 126), shows that he usually had three clean shirts a week, with three pairs of ruffles, one handkerchief, three stocks or cravats, one pair of stockings and one nightshirt. Drawers are again missing from the washing.

The next two tables (127 and 128) show the Gordon servants' washing - butler, footmen, cook, postilion, porter and boys, 1747-8 and 1751. The butler and cook are alone entitled to ruffled shirts, while the others have plain ones: the butler usually has 8-12 ruffled and 3-4 plain each month, and the cook 6-12 ruffled and 6-14 plain during the same period. The others have clean shirts between four and 12 times a month depending on status. Only the cook has aprons and caps. Again the butler and cook are favoured in the number of clean stockings - up to 12 pairs monthly - while the others make do with two to five. They all get clean handkerchiefs once a week or a fortnight. The superior servants did better. Robert Gordon, the secretary, ought to have had more washing, but from this table (129) he did not. He was at Enfield a lot, so possibly his washing was mainly done there. James Benet, the valet, does better with a clean shirt every other day and a matching cravat, along with a fresh pair of stockings each week and a handkerchief every three days.

There are some washing bills for the Findlaters, but the laundry-

woman has not labelled her bills. The details are given in the following two tables (130 and 131) for 1741 and 1759. Five bills are given in each week; presumably for Lord and Lady Findlater and the three menservants, but they do not specify which is which. In table 130, Lord Findlater must be the first section, and Lady Findlater the second, and the three servants the remainder, but this does not explain why aprons appear in both sections one and two. In spite of this discrepancy, the bills are useful, for they indicate that the weekly allowance of shirts for Lord Findlater is a fresh one daily like Gordon and Breadalbane, along with a clean stock, while Lady Findlater has a clean shift at least every other day, and two clean aprons weekly. The later bill of 1759 puts everything on to one long bill. From this, Lord Findlater has the usual daily clean shirt and Lady Findlater three shifts a week. By now she has taken to wearing a mob cap - clean four times a week. The party is accompanied by Mrs Nicholson, but it is not stated whether she was Lady Findlater's maid or a visitor. The fact that she got a clean shift twice a week, as well as three mob caps and three aprons probably indicates a visitor. Prices of washing have risen. In 1741, Lord Findlater's shirts cost $2\frac{1}{2}$d to launder them, and by 1759 this has risen to 3d, though Lady Findlater's shifts are still priced at 3d.

CHAPTER 10

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Unlike his father and grandfather, Cosmo George did not travel extensively. Perhaps this is due to the fact that both George and Alexander, as Catholics and Jacobites, were unpopular with the government at home.

Cosmo George was abroad on four occasions, but only the first tour in 1736-7 was a protracted one. His travels were restricted to the Low Countries, the Netherlands and France. He never went as far as Italy or the south of France, though when he was first married he suggested migrating to the latter place on the grounds that life there would be less expensive. On this occasion, however, he eventually settled for a visit to York.

The first trip was for his education, and as he was only 16 he was accompanied by James Abercromby, his tutor, as well as John Hamilton, who had been master of the household to his father, and Andrew Innes, his own footman. Other servants were hired in Holland as required.

The party set off from Gordon Castle in May 1736, and, after about three weeks in London, embarked on 14 June (old style) in a packet at Harwich, reaching Helvoet Sluys the following day. They had so much baggage with them that two waggons had to be hired to carry it to Rotterdam, where they lodged with the widow of John Gordon, the merchant who supplied Alexander, duke of Gordon, with most of his foreign merchandise.

The summer was spent in sightseeing. The party travelled extensively, visiting gardens, churches, hospitals and various public buildings. Table 132 gives the details of these excursions. Some of them are

rather obscure, especially the temple of Solomon visited in February 1737. Other things seen include silk mills, the Delft manufactory, an examination of prisoners in Amsterdam, iron mills at Namur and mines at Tournai.

The duke also went to the theatre, and also paid for John Hamilton to go, even when he was not going himself. He also tipped jugglers, rope dancers, a whistling man and singing women. As in London, he dined out, mainly with compatriots, apart from visiting the Prince of Orange at Loo. Otherwise his hosts were mainly members of the British diplomatic service. In Rotterdam Cosmo George attended the Scots kirk, and the French church in Utrecht.

Most of the travelling was done by hired chaise, but they also went by 'schuyt' on the canals, when Cosmo George usually travelled on the roof to see the view, and they also hired yachts. Once Cosmo George paid for the hire of half a yacht for nine days, though the account does not mention who had the other half. It must have been a friend, for the duke also hired half a footman, the other half presumably being paid for by the unknown hirer of the half yacht.

Most of the time was spent in Holland, though the party did make an expedition to the Netherlands, hiring three coaches from Antwerp to Brussels, where they inspected the tapestry manufactory, the stadt house, the arsenal and ecurie, and supped with the British secretary.

The ostensible object of this trip, Cosmo George's education, does not appear much in either his or his tutor's accounts. He attended the University of Utrecht, where his name was registered in the Academy books, 16 May 1737. He studied with Professor Otto, who taught law,

his lectures being mostly on Justinian's Institutes and the works of Puffendorff. He may have attended the lectures or not, as there is no evidence either way, but the hard work of transcribing the legal texts was done for him by a man called Formose, who wrote out Otto's dictates on both Justinian's Institutes and Grotius, and his public lesson on the title De Actionibus.

Apart from his university course, Cosmo George had various private lessons. When in Rotterdam he took French lessons. In Utrecht he had English lessons from Mr Pell, and Mr Marckhart, repetiteur, helped him with Justinian's Institutes as well as lessons on civil and natural law. He also took lessons on the flute and riding lessons. There are no accounts for dancing or fencing.

Most of these facts come from James Abercromby's accounts, but Cosmo George also kept an account of his own expenditure. The part relating to his own payments when abroad is given, in his own spelling, in the next table (133).[2] He calculated his total expense at £320 9s 1d. This does not include Abercromby's accounts. Most of this money was spent on books, and the greater part of the accounts are due to booksellers. Those patronised were Juriaan van Paddenburg in Leyden, Etienne Neaulme in Utrecht, Jean Brodelet there, and Wetstein and Smith in Amsterdam. On the whole, the books are an improving lot, mostly legal texts or commentaries, including the works of Otto, Puffendorff, Grotius and Heineccius, all from Paddenburg. Neaulme concentrated more on French books, grammars, almanacs and some novels. Broedelet sold Cosmo George The Spectator in eight volumes. As well as these, the duke bought an expensive atlas from Petrus Schenk in Amsterdam, which cost 162 gilders, or

nearly £15.

Other less convenient purchases included a double French post chaise, which was shipped from Boulogne to Leith, an enamelled marble table, two canary birds, and a Dutch lap dog for Cosmo George's sister, Harriot.

Smaller items were shipped by widow John Gordon from Rotterdam; her list mentioned five trunks, three chests and a basket in one lot, and a double cask, a chest, a small chest, a basket and two boxes, which were sent later. The cask contained Rhenish wine and the basket Spa water. Other purchases were mainly personal trifles such as gold rings, a silver watch, sleeve buttons, ink, pencils and drawing books, and a sponge and flesh brush.

Apart from his education, another object of this trip was the duke's health. Doctors figure prominently in the accounts, and consultations with Dr Boerhaave[3] and Dr Albinus[4] are frequent. Unfortunately none of the accounts gives any reference to what the illness was.

On this trip, the duke's taste for gambling first appears. Among the games mentioned are billiards, golf, bankfilet, ombre, quadrille and cards. The duke lost (and occasionally won) money at all these pursuits, though the sums involved are quite small. They are listed in table 134. He never wagered more than 15 gilders (about £1 6s), and usually the sums were smaller. He also tried the Utrecht lottery, buying four tickets, and on this occasion he won 270 gilders (about £24). His quarterly allowance was 252 gilders, so this was a sizable win.

No useful comparisons of the right date can be found, though there is an incomplete account of disbursements by a member of the Grant family,

who spent some months in Holland in 1758-9.[5] Like Cosmo George, he travelled round the country, visiting Campvere, Rotterdam, Noordwyk, Amsterdam, the Hague and Leyden. He saw various sights, including the Surgeons' Hall at Rotterdam, various public buildings in the Hague and Leyden, and, more unexpectedly, a shipwreck at Noordwyk Upsee. He too was sent abroad for his education, and mentions tipping an usher and the purchase of French and Dutch dictionaries. However, like Cosmo George, his account dwells more on entertainment, recording money lost at cards, tobacco and snuff, skates, sugar candy, dancing and wine.

James, second marquess of Annandale, spent much of his life abroad, mostly in Italy, where he collected books and medals. On one visit to Paris and the Low Countries in 1726-7, his valet noted his purchases, excluding books, and this is useful, for it shows that Annandale appreciated the work of the ebenistes of the reign of Louis XV, though unfortunately the valet does not note the makers. Annandales's purchases included commodes with marble tops in various colours, with brass mountings, a corner cupboard of violet wood, again with a marble top, a black and white marble table on a carved gilt frame, a bureau of black wood, with a black leather cover and three drawers, mounted in brass, and a bergere chair. Smaller purchases were china shells, various pieces of silver, an agate cup (cracked, as the valet was careful to point out, by the marquess himself), some earthenware including a bidet, and a couple of pictures. The largest purchase was a four wheeled Italian post chaise. When Lord Annandale moved on to Holland and the Low Countries, his purchases were mostly linen and lace for ruffles and shirts. At the Hague his purchases included chintz for bed and night gowns and Indian silk

handkerchiefs embroidered with his initial and coronet. At Leyden he bought various pieces of Japan work and some china, as well as the skins of a seal and a white bear. He also bought books at Leyden, but the list is not given in detail.

Lord Hope was in Paris some years earlier than Cosmo George, in 1726-7, for some months, to complete his education and acquire some polish.[6] The only lessons he notes in his accounts are riding lessons for five months, but he also bought a large drawing table, magnifying glasses and a little microscope, all of which could be described as educational. His amusements included visits to Versailles, the Trianon, Nancy and St Cloud, while he also went to the Italian comedy, something he described as the 'anatomy waxworks', and watched a tumbling boy. His purchases were mostly clothes and oddments, such as a cane with a gold head, a very expensive tortoiseshell box lined with gold costing 432 livres, a pair of gold scissors and a knife made by Serier, an Italian, at 216 livres, various snuff boxes of silvergilt, agate or mother of pearl, and a Spanish gun costing 11 louis d'or or 267 livres. He also bought a dog at 40 livres. His clothes included a pair of black stockings embroidered with gold and another pair with silver, a brown suit looped with gold at 729 livres, a white embroidered waistcoat with a white embroidered coat and breeches, costing 959 livres for all three items. Lord Hope also bought lace, specifying it as Mechlin, Valenciennes and Angrelure.

Similarly Wauchope of Niddrie, having finished at Eton in 1722, was sent by his tutors on a European tour, which ended sadly, for he died at Venice.[7] His lessons while in Holland included French, fencing, dancing, mathematics and riding, all probably at Utrecht. He also purchased

a chessboard, and took further lessons in Greek, the clavichord or harpsichord, and various law classes, all at Leyden, 1724-5. During 1725, he moved to Paris, where he bought a selection of clothes, and then to Besancon, where he was tutored in riding, fencing, the harpsichord, dancing and drawing. He also had his picture painted, visited the opera and the play and went to Versailles. Moving south to Venice, he took Italian lessons, and the account ends with physicians, a coffin and marble for a monument, and the right to a piece of ground for burial in Padua.

Cosmo George's next visit to the continent was a very short one, in the summer of 1745. He was accompanied by John Hamilton for the last time. They were at Harwich on 9 May 1745, when the menu for dinner was a dish of fish, leg of mutton and greens, pigeons and asparagus, bread, butter and cheese, with wine, beer, cider and bitters. They arrived at Helvoet Sluys on 12 May, and went to the Hague, where they lodged with Mr Adams, who kept an English inn there. They had their meals there too, except for visits to Utrecht, Harlem and Leyden. Some of the details are given in table 137. From these, the landlord not only lodged and fed the party, but also supplied morning papers, a plan of the Hague, paid the barber, did the washing and arranged transport of items from Utrecht.

When at the Hague, Cosmo George did a little shopping: black silk stockings, common thread stockings, a Paris hat, tobacco and three wigs. The same tailor patronised by the duke on his previous visit, Isaac Barriet, this time made him a black velvet coat with gold laced waistcoat, also supplying the material: 20 ells black Genoa velvet and $8\frac{1}{4}$ ells extra of the same velvet for the waistcoat, at 7 florins the ell.

While at Utrecht, Cosmo George called on Muller, the man who had given him flute lessons when in Holland before, and at Amsterdam his purchases included various handkerchiefs - flowered silk, gold silk, blue silk, chintz and muslin, and from the tailor there, Henri de la Riviere, no less than 13 waistcoats: two dimity, three unspecified, four silk (three black and one blue, all embroidered), three white Berlin and one black flowered velvet, as well as two sailor suits, and a very expensive woman's worked muslin apron with ruffles costing 100 florins. The bill does not specify who the sailor suits were for; the practice of dressing children as sailors does not become fashionable till the 19th century, though it seems unlikely that Cosmo George would wish to equip his boatmen with Dutch sailor suits. All these items were packed in a trunk for the journey home. Other purchases included three chintz counterpanes and 22 dozen bottles of claret. The duke and John Hamilton then returned to Helvoet Sluys for the return journey, landing at Aldebrough on 24 May.

Cosmo George's most extended tour abroad took place in the summer of 1748, lasting about five months. As John Hamilton was dead, there was no one with the party to note disbursements, and so details of what the duke did are lacking.

He was accompanied by Katherine this time, with her maid, James Benet and two footmen, and on this occasion he procured four passports, the only ones to survive. They were issued by Cumberland for a visit to the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, the States General for travel between England and France, Marshal Saxe for the journey from Holland to Paris, and d'Argenson, the French Secretary of State (granted to 'M. Gourdon, gentilhomme anglais et sa suite'), for the journey back from Paris to Brussels.[8]

The first six weeks were spent in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and the Hague. The inns patronised were usually run by foreigners: Mr Maccartney in Leyden, Michael Edwards in Rotterdam, Thomas Adams at the Hague, and Walter Clark in Amsterdam. The menus are sometimes given, and sound very much what the duke would have been eating at home. Some of them are given in table 136. The staples appear to be the usual chicken, veal cutlets, Scotch collops, and broth, washed down by claret, rhenish and mull. The supply of two teas after dinner sounds unexpectedly modern.

As well as meals supplied while the party was in the place, the innkeepers also supplied picnics: a journey to North Holland, for instance, was accompanied by two boiled tongues, 10 roast chickens, one boiled ham, and a pigeon pie, while a trip on a yacht was cheered by a loin of lamb, some smoked beef, a loaf of bread, butter and cheese, two bottles each of pontack and rhenish and four bottles mull; and an unspecified trip was accompanied by six roast chickens, some pieces of cold boiled beef, some cheese, three bottles pontack, one bottle of old hock and six of mull.

Apart from accounts for shopping, there is little to show how the party spent its time. Most of the bills are either for books or clothes. The books came from Pierre Mortier and Jean Covins in Amsterdam, Langerach at Leyden and Scheurleer at the Hague. Most of the bills are quite short, for Scheuleer only sold the duke another plan of the Hague, a French and a Dutch grammar and some guide books. Mortier's bills show a more general selection of books, including the works of Grotius, Strada, Rochefocauld and Drelincourt.

Both Cosmo George and Katherine bought a selection of clothes and

accessories. Katherine visited various milliners and emerged with expensive trifles, including a double Dresden handkerchief costing 6 guineas at Rotterdam, and two double pairs of ruffles from the same shop. Cosmo George again patronised the same two tailors, Barriet in the Hague and de la Riviere in Amsterdam. This time the former made him a black suit and the latter a black silk waistcoat. While at the Hague, the duke also bought a hat, described as 'un chapeau castor fin de France' which cost 13 florins, along with a black feather and an orange cord, which brought the total cost up to 21 florins, 4 stivers. In Rotterdam, another tailor, John Lilly, made more clothes - another black silk vest, a pair of shag breeches and a hussar waistcoat of scarlet ornamented with gold chain. Other purchases included 12 pints of Cape Constantia wine sent home in a hamper on a Scots vessel.

The duke made a note of his purchases, which included, apart from those already specified, six pairs of Dresden ruffles for Mr Murray, hire of a yacht, chintz for a nightgown, various pieces of holland, and payments to a valet and a barber for powdering his wigs.

The party reached Brussels at the end of August and spent the next six weeks there and in Paris, returning to Rotterdam before embarking again at Helvoet Sluys. In Brussels and Paris, the party lodged with French speaking innkeepers, and the bills are made out in French. In Paris, they stayed with Madame Bergognion, for 12 nights, and they also ate there. One dinner there was composed of a compote of four pigeons, a roast turkey, four roast partridges, a jam tart, artichokes in white sauce, peaches, nuts and raisins, bread and cheese, three bottles Beaune, one bottle Mulsaune, one bottle of unspecified wine, and coffee.

Supper was also an elaborate meal. One menu consisted of two chickens stuffed with onions, veal en ragout, a roast turkey, a jam tart, cheese, raisins and pears, bread, three bottles Beaune, one bottle wine and five bottles beer.

Madame Bergognion did not provide tea: this, along with bread, came from M. Luce, who called himself a 'limonadier', and supplied between four and eight cups of tea daily.

While at Paris, they hired a coach and made expeditions into the surrounding country, including the obligatory trip to Versailles and one to Marli. Only two shopping accounts survive: one for two wigs, one for Cosmo George and one for Katherine, and the other for a waistcoat made for the duke by a tailor called Mayer who worked in the Rue de Tournon, 'a l'hotel Tournon avis la rue des quatre vents'. It was of silver stuff, with three dozen gold buttonholes, lined with serge du soy.

On leaving France the party returned to Rotterdam, for nearly a fortnight. During this time they hired a yacht from Challoner Webb, whose bill is addressed to 'Me Lord Duck of Gorden'. In this they visited Neu Sluys and the Boos. John Lilly made more clothes for the duke, this time producing a scarlet surtout coat of ratteen with a velvet collar, and a blue hussar cloak, again with velvet collar.

Cosmo George's last trip abroad was undertaken for his health, in the summer of 1752. He had been ill that year, complaining of lack of appetite, and it was hoped that a few months in France would restore him. He was accompanied by Katherine, and two footmen; Katherine's maid and James Benet were left behind to look after the children. They crossed from Dover to Boulogne, and arrived at Paris on 6 July. The party

lodged with M. Brunet for nine days, during which time medicine for the duke was supplied by an apothecary. After this they set off west, accompanied by Dr Stewart, who was studying medicine in France at Cosmo George's expense. By the time they reached Bretieul Cosmo George was seriously ill and he died there of a fever on 5 August old style. He was 32.

The necessary arrangements for embalming the body, settling with the innkeeper, providing a coffin, and transporting the body to Boulogne were made by Dr Stewart. He left a note of his disbursements, amounting to £203 in all.[9] These included sending for a surgeon from Paris to do the embalming, carriage of a coffin from Paris, silver nails for it from Amiens, an apothecary's account giving in far too much detail the items used in the embalming process and for keeping the body until the surgeon arrived from Paris, the innkeeper's bill (amounting to nearly £120 of the total), and the expenses of Katherine's journey back to London. Robert Gordon, the secretary, was warned, two days before Cosmo George's death, that he was seriously ill, and was advised by the Duke of Atholl and Mr Udny to set out for France. He left London on the 5th and crossed from Dover to Calais, arriving at Bretieul on the same day. He then took over the arrangements, providing mourning for himself and the two footmen, consisting of hat crape, shoulder knots, buckles and stockings. Other expenses included payments to men for watching with the coffin and small sums given to the poor when the cortege stopped en route for Boulogne. It was then shipped on board a Scots boat to Cromarty via Aberdeen, accompanied by Thomas Black. To cheer the sailors on board and to offset the unlucky corpse, Robert Gordon distributed 18 livres among them to buy spirits. On arrival at Gordon Castle, the body was

interred in the family vault in Elgin Cathedral, and Alexander, marquess of Huntly, succeeded as fourth duke of Gordon, at the age of nine. During his long life the family of Gordon was transformed; the previous political and religious uncertainties were forgotten, and Alexander settled down as a great Scottish landowner, administering his estates, an undoubted prop of the establishment. He completed the transformation begun by Cosmo George, changing the traditional loyalties of the Gordon family, from being almost invariably 'agin the government' to a loyal supporter of the Hanoverian monarchy, the owner of one of the largest estates in Britain, as much at home in London as at Gordon Castle or Edinburgh, and a representative of everything that Cosmo George had ever wanted to be.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

There is no evidence to prove that Cosmo George and Lord Chesterfield ever met,[1] although they probably did, for there are many passages in Lord Chesterfield's letters which indicate his horror at watching others behave as Cosmo George did. He gives many warnings to his son against the pleasures which degrade a gentleman, such as sottish drinking, indiscriminate gluttony, driving coaches, and rustic sports like fox chasing and horse races, not to speak of occupations such as actually playing a musical instrument, for, as he remarked severely, 'it puts a gentleman into a very frivolous contemptible light, brings him into a great deal of bad company, and takes up a great deal of time which might be better employed'.[2] It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cosmo George did not fit Chesterfield's definition of a gentleman. The latter protested to his son that he did not grudge him the money necessary for his improvement or pleasure, adding cautiously, 'I mean the pleasures of a rational being'. These were the best books, the best masters, and the lodgings, coaches, clothes and servants which enabled a gentleman to keep the best company. However, Chesterfield went on to add, 'the only two articles which I never will supply are, the profusion of low riot and the idle lavishness of negligence and laziness'. As he continued, a man of sense always spends his time and money rationally, while a fool squanders his money without credit or advantage to himself, for 'he cannot withstand the charms of a toyshop: snuff-boxes, watches, heads of canes etc. are

his destruction'. How Cosmo George fails to shine here.

However, this is not a study of a genius or even of a man of fashion, merely of a very ordinary Scottish nobleman, whose only outstanding trait was to keep every bill, personal or household, and paid them all. He is in no way oustanding except insofar as his background is so well documented by the surviving accounts, which show in great detail the life of a Scottish peer in an age of transition. The duke's environment is shown: at home at Gordon Castle, on visits to Edinburgh, in a rented house in London, and at his English country house at Enfield. The houses, furniture, meals, drink, medicine, purchases, clothes, horses, gardens, children's necessities and the purchases for his wife are all described in greater detail than is available elsewhere.

What comes out most clearly from this study is the wide variety of goods available: food and drink, and other imports such as horses, trees and plants for the garden, foreign furniture, English silver, and the details of the duke's occupations in Scotland and England. All these points show the impact of English fashions upon Scotland in general, and in particular on the Scots nobility. Their political power as a class was dwindling, although the ownership of land was still the road to influence. None of the Scots peers discussed - Gordon; John, lord Glenorchy, later third earl of Breadalbane; Alexander and Hugh, second and third earls of Marchmont; John, second earl of Hopetoun; James, earl of Findlater and Seafield; or Francis, duke of Buccleuch - played much part in influencing political thought. The nobility no longer led their men into battle, and their decline as an influential body was intensified by the Union, and the subsequent extinction of the Scottish parliament. Thereafter they met ~~yearly or more~~

often when necessary, to join in a carefully rigged election of 16 representative peers, but they had little influence at Westminster, and few, excepting only Ilay, attended the House of Lords. Otherwise, their only duties consisted of filling various offices, such as lord lieutenant of the county, or Commissioner to the General Assembly, but this foreshadows the modern world in which the Scots nobility has a decorative function only.

The early 18th century was an age of transition, and it can be seen that material standards of life were rising as the political influence of the old nobility was declining. The rise in material standards was in part due to English imports, and the ambition of Cosmo George and his like was to emulate their English counterparts as much as possible. Lengthy stays in London showed them what life was like there, and on their return to Scotland they were accompanied by a good deal of luggage in the way of luxuries and novelties not readily procurable in Scotland. Many of the Scots peerage married into the English peerage or gentry, held minor positions, lived privately in England for several months in the year, purchased or rented property there, and consequently spent less time on their Scottish estates or in Edinburgh. There was a general trend towards uniformity influenced by the London fashions.

In practice there was a loss of 17th century independence in running a large household, when most of the food was produced or made on the estate. Now more was imported ready made and less was done at home. This is partly due to the greater mobility produced by better roads, the introduction of the postal service, the carrier's cart, regular stage coaches to London, and ships going frequently between Aberdeen, Leith and London. Expanding markets meant that products could be sent further and fetched

a better price when they reached a bigger centre.

Greater comfort was now expected in the home, and carpets, curtains, both bed and window, mats, rugs and cushions, along with wallpaper, were now made or imported in quantity. Windows were bigger, so that rooms were lighter, and now that the furnishings could be seen better, it was important to have the latest imported fashions in furniture as well as in dress. It was an age when novelty became fashionable, and little respect was paid to the antique qua antique. The possessions of a previous generation were thrust into attics, given to servants, or pushed out to decay in an outhouse; books were torn up to use as snuffpapers, frames were taken from pictures to be used for a new picture or print, quilts were cut up for rag or stuffing, furniture was chopped up for firewood, while houses were knocked down and rebuilt in the latest style.

The national change is reflected in the history of the Gordon family. The exploitation of the estate in the early 18th century foreshadows the modern business approach to estate management. The rise of the family in the 15th and 16th centuries was due to its ruthless aggrandising policy, and the political power held by successive earls of Huntly. As late as 1715, Alexander led his people into rebellion, though he was markedly unsuccessful in practice. Cosmo George, 30 years later, retired to bed. The Gordons were no longer leaders, not even of the opposition. The change to Protestantism removed the family from an unsuitable place of prominence, and made it possible for them to sink gratefully into the background, where they were eventually accepted by their neighbours and fellow peers, and were enabled then to take a place as representative peers and improvers of their estates, and with an accepted place in local affairs.

Cosmo George himself is a nonentity. He died at the age of 32, and his undistinguished life, one can hardly call it a career, is dismissed by The Scots Peerage in half a page. The only positive statements it can make about him are: his election as a representative peer, his installation as a Knight of the Order of the Thistle, and his marriage, leaving aside his birth and death, which can be presupposed. This is not an exciting life, and the only reason why he is brought from otherwise deserved obscurity is his really unusual habit of keeping all his accounts and paying them promptly. The only other contemporary Scottish peer noted with this habit is John, lord Glenorchy, later third earl of Breadalbane, whose accounts form a useful comparison. Cosmo George, however, kept all his accounts, personal, household and family, while there are unaccounted for gaps in Breadalbane's accounts; none for his wife and family, and few for the households at Sugnall and London. Cosmo George's life is thus exceptionally well documented, and this thesis sets out to show, by one example, the life of one Scots peer in the first half of the 18th century, made possible by his accounts, though there are few surviving letters and hardly any references from contemporaries to help. While Lord Chesterfield sneered at the habit of noting small accounts, urging his son to 'leave such minutiae to dull, penny-wise fellows, but remember in economy, as well as in every other part of life, to have the proper attention to proper objects, and the proper contempt for little ones',[2] but Cosmo George's habit of keeping his bills has enabled this writer to document his background in detail. Lord Chesterfield would undoubtedly have jeered at the result, but this thesis hopes to prove that letterwriting is not everything.